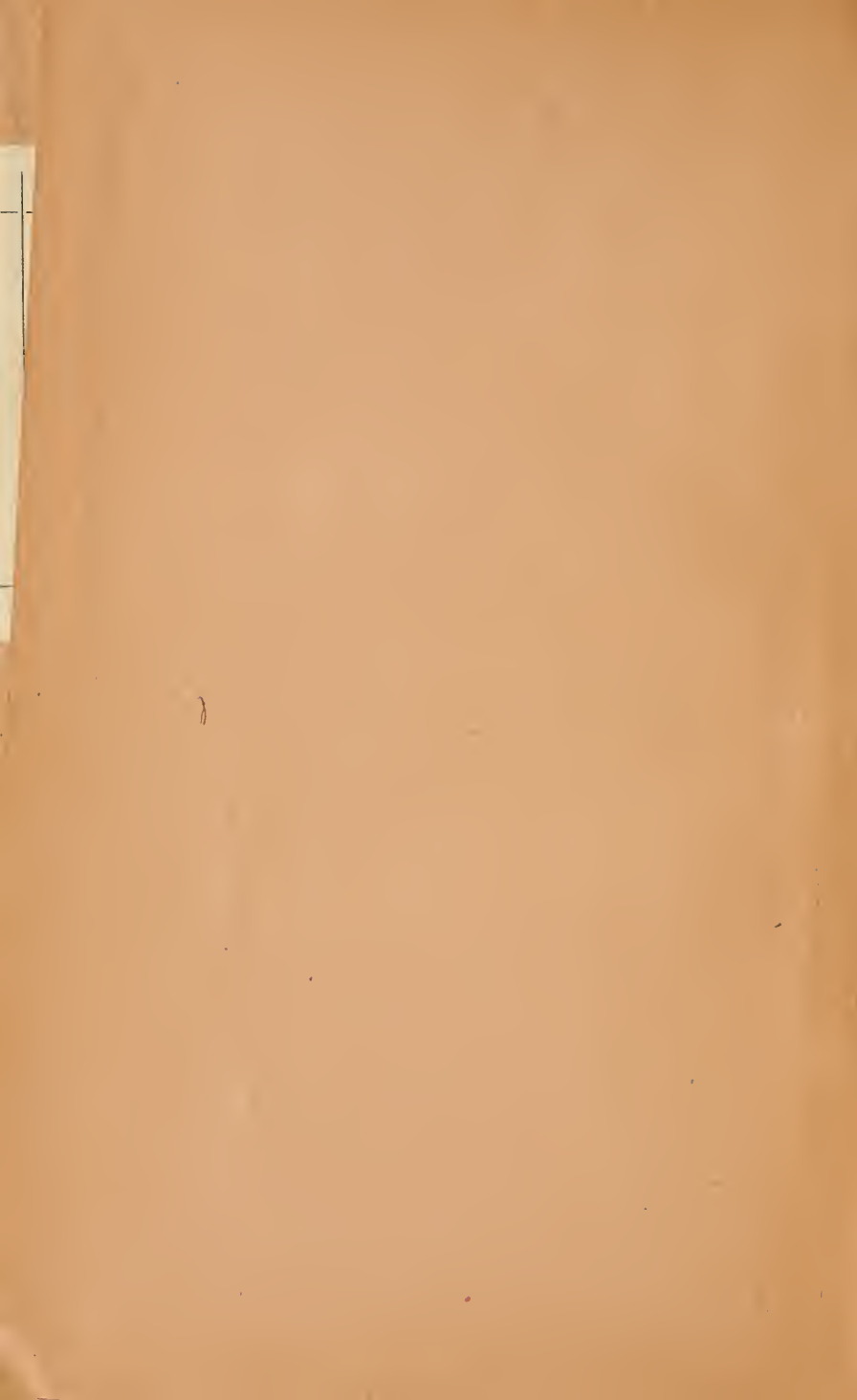





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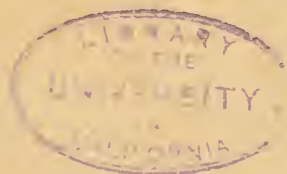
BY A

BLACK - LISTED
MACHINIST

GENERAL

CAPITAL AND LABOR

BY A
BLACK-LISTED MACHINIST



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GENERAL

PREFACE.

Few books have an origin and history like this one. It is nothing more nor less than the combined note-book and scrap-book of a Socialist workingman.

Blacklisted and searching with bitter experiences for a market in which to dispose of his labor-power, then toiling long hours at the most exhausting labor when that market was found, he learned the philosophy of Socialism at a school whose lessons make lasting and vivid impressions. Co-operating with events in the work of teaching these lessons there were certain things that he read or heard spoken.

When he came to see the truth of the Socialist position, he saw that the only way to escape from the life in which capitalism doomed him to live was by helping other working men to see the same truths. Hence this book.

It is a record of the things which made him a Socialist, and of the things which he found most effective in teaching his fellow-workers to become Socialists. Along with these things he has put the arguments and thoughts which arose from his experience as laborer and Socialist agitator.

Under these conditions it is manifestly impos-

sible to give credit for all the material taken from other writers. Many times, indeed, the wording has been vastly changed while the substance still remains. The writer has simply taken from the vast storehouse of Socialist literature the weapons he needed, forging them into such new forms as would best suit his purpose, even as he was accustomed to forging the steel with which he works in his daily tasks.

Having gathered together the material in this manner he then worked at his trade to earn the money necessary to put it before the world. Now it is sent forth to do its work as best it may. He dare not sign his name lest he be once more set adrift from his slavery into a freedom that leaves him only free to starve.

Such a book, gathered, published and sent forth in this manner, should certainly not be without effect upon the class for whom it was written. It should challenge the attention of every producer of wealth, and I believe its reading will compel him to see that his place is beside the author and the millions of other workingmen who are seeking to hasten the progress of social evolution toward the time when the conditions portrayed in this book and endured by the writer and his class shall have forever passed away.

A. M. SIMONS.

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CAPITAL AND LABOR.

GENIUS AND PROFIT.

Genius has always served the world without mercenary incentive. Says Robert Blatchford: "If a prize is offered for a new machine, will a man of no genius make it? No. He will try for the sake of the prize, but he will fail for the lack of brains. But no prize being offered, will the man of genius, seeing the need of a new machine, invent it? He will. History proves that he will invent and does invent it, not only without hope of gain but even at risk of life and liberty. It seems then that genius, without mercenary incentive, will serve the world; but that mercenary motives without genius will not."

Under Socialism will genius serve the world without mercenary motive? Most certainly it will, and more completely than it does to-day, for the reasons already mentioned, and further because Socialism will be favorable to the development of geniuses. For every ray of genius developed to-day a wealth of capacity is stifled. We find men liberally endowed among the very dregs of society. Socialism would secure to all the opportunity for the full development of their latent powers. Surround men with a suitable environment and genius will go forward by leaps and bounds.

With this development would come increased inventions—a new era of mechanical improve-

ments would dawn. Socialism would substitute machines for men in every department of production.

NOTHING SUCCEEDS LIKE SUCCESS.

The task of the reformer is a difficult and thankless one. The pioneers of every movement begun in the interest of humanity have met opposition from all quarters, including those in whose behalf the reform was demanded. People as a rule are wedded to custom and are slow to comprehend the necessity for change. But once the reform idea has been realized, none are so loud in its praises, or so ready to avail themselves of its advantages, or even to credit themselves with having helped to bring it about, as some of those who were its opponents from the beginning. The movement to abolish negro slavery in this country illustrates this fact. The little band of anti-slavery agitators were ridiculed and abused on all sides for attempting to overthrow a system that was upheld up the constitution, sanctioned by the churches and endorsed by a majority of the people.

In spite of opposition the reform idea prevailed, and to-day the abolition of slavery is rightly regarded as the greatest achievement in our history. No one would now dare to advocate a return to the old system. So has it been with the ideas advanced in the labor movement. In the various stages of its progress one reform after another has been secured only through aggressive and persistent agitation, yet

no one would now suggest the surrender of any of the ground gained. No labor reform idea met with stronger opposition than the one to reduce the hours of labor. But repeated reductions have been made, and the individual who would now seek a return to the longer work-day would be considered crazy. We remember the time when a labor union, if noticed at all, was looked upon with derision. To-day it commands respect. Where, but a few years ago, there were in this country but a small number of national trade-unions, some of them of doubtful stability, hundreds of strong national unions are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, the great labor army, which has become a power which cannot be ignored. The unions overcame opposition. Success won supporters for their cause.

But the task of the trade-union is far from being ended. On the contrary it has scarcely begun. The rapid changes that constantly take place in our methods of production requires continued efforts on the part of the unions to maintain the rights of their members. Looking back over the marvelous hundred years that have passed away forever you cannot but wonder what the new century will bring. Well, as you sow, so shall you reap. We know that the world will be nearer the great scheme of International unification, as the trusts are slowly evolving in cycle motion with Father Time. The curtain has just rung down on the greatest century since the creation of the world. The twentieth century is ushering in a new play and America is the stage.

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW WANTS TO EXPAND.

Senator Depew, the silver-tongued orator of the Republican party, in his speech in the Philadelphia convention, said: "What is the tendency of the future? Why this hammering at the gates of Pekin? Why this marching of troops from Asia to Africa? Why this parade of people from other empires and other lands? It is because the surplus productions of the civilized countries of modern times are greater than civilization can consume. It is because the over-production goes back to stagnation and poverty. The American people now produce \$2,000,000,000 worth more than they can consume, and we met the emergency, and, by the providence of God, by the statesmanship of William McKinley, and by the valor of Roosevelt and his associates, we have our market in Cuba, we have our market in Puerto Rico, we have our market in Hawaii, we have our market in the Philippines, and we stand in the presence of 800,000,000 of people, with the Pacific as an American lake, and the American artisan producing better and cheaper goods than any other country in the world, and my friends, we go to American labor and to the American farm and say that with McKinley for another four years, there is no congestion for America."

Senator Depew forgot to say, that of the total wealth of the United States those who created it

own but one-tenth of it. He forgot to say that laborers in our iron mills, our sweat-shops, and farms die at an average age of 33 years from exposure, overwork and insufficient nourishment, and that the non-producers, who get nine-tenths of all that the laboring people produce, live to an average age of 63. He forgot to say that the railroads are stocked for six billions more than they cost, and that while the railroad kings receive princely salaries, the workers on those roads get an average of but \$1.15 per day, and are laid off half the time. He forgot to say that one-eighth of the people of this country own seven-eighths of all the wealth, and that the working people are growing poorer and poorer every day. Instead of providing for a more just distribution of the great wealth our half-starved working men have piled up for the capitalists.

Chauncey would expand. He would open up the doors of the Philippines and China and other countries, and compel them to buy this \$2,000,000,000 of goods that the rich have filched from the working people, or if they do not open their doors, we will kill them, under the providence of God and the statesmanship of Theodore Roosevelt. Hark, ye slaves of the coal mines; ye half-starved operatives in the factories or sweat-shops; ye diggers and delvers with the hoe, with bended form and slanting brow; hark, ye hayseeds with mortgages on your homes; ye are producing more than ye can consume; ye are producing a "congestion," come now and vote for the "Rough Rider," Roosevelt, who under the providence of

God is going to raise a great army of your boys and send them around the world to find markets for this vast surplus wealth you are creating (of which you get but one-tenth). This will force your wages still lower, for if we can send the product of American labor to your conquered provinces, they can send their products here. If our laborers can go there, theirs can come here, and there will be a readjustment of wages. In Japan and China, in Hawaii and the Philippines, the laborers get from 5 to 50 cents per day. The imperialistic policy carried out will bring an evening up of wages, under which arrangement yours must go lower.

There is a "congestion" now in America, says Senator Depew. We are producing too much. The people will become indolent from such a surfeit of riches. Vote the Republican ticket, says the Senator, and there will be no further "congestion," and the exploiters of the American laborers will unload some of the vast wealth which has become a burden to them. It was secured by gigantic trusts, and displacing working men, and watering stocks, and railroad extortion, and sweat-shops, and class legislation in the interests of the few, but vote the Republican ticket, and God, assisted by the Rough Rider, will force the heathens to take the surplus off the hands of the exploiters, and the American laborer can go on creating more surplus at from 50 cents to \$1.15 per day.

Chauncey, in his speech at the National Republican Convention, said, "I remember when I used

to go abroad—it is a good thing for a man to go abroad—I used to be ashamed, because everywhere they would say, ‘What is the matter with the Declaration of Independence, when you have slavery in your land?’ Well, we took slavery out, and now no American is ashamed to go abroad. When I went abroad afterwards, the ship was full of merchants, buying iron and buying steel, and buying wool and buying cotton, and all kinds of goods.

“Now, when an American goes around the world, what happens to him when he reaches the capital of Japan? He rides on an electric railway, made by American mechanics; when he reaches the territory of China he reads under an electric light, invented by Mr. Edison, and put up by American artisans. When he goes over the great railway across Siberia, from China to St. Petersburg, he rides on American rails, in cars drawn by American locomotives. When he goes to Germany he finds our iron and steel climbing over a \$2.50 tariff, and thereby scaring the Kaiser almost out of his wits. When he reaches the great exposition at Paris, he finds the French wine-maker saying that American wine cannot be admitted there, for the purpose of judgment. When he goes to old London he gets for breakfast California fruit, he gets for lunch biscuit and bread made of Western flour, and, when he gets for dinner ‘roast beef of old England’ taken from the plains of Montana, his feet rest on a carpet marked ‘Axminster—made in Yonkers, N. Y.’”

In striking the above keynote of American capi-

talism, Chauncey Depew fails to say, that, when the American goes to New York he finds hundreds of thousands of human beings huddled together in tenement houses, which are not fit for the beasts of the field to house in—where four or five persons eat, drink, sleep and live together in a single room. He also fails to mention that when he goes to New York, or any other large city in the United States or in Europe, he finds workmen and women, in sweat-shops with only 20 to 100 cubic feet of breathing space for each individual, and from which cause the atmosphere becomes vile and overcharged with noxious and poisonous matter, which breeds disease and death to the workers.

Is the United States prosperous? If not, why not?

It is asserted by politicians that the people of this country are very prosperous. Is the claim well founded? I contend, it is not. I concede that a few are amassing wealth rapidly, but the many can hardly make ends meet, while millions are slowly, but surely, sinking into poverty.

In 1850 the total wealth of the United States was \$8,000,000,000. The producers had possession of $62\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of it. In 1900 the total wealth was estimated at \$100,000,000,000, and the producers own but 10 per cent of it.

In 1850, as shown by the census of the United States, we had to each million of inhabitants, 673 insane, 580 criminals. In 1890 we had 1,698 insane to the million, and 1,349 adult criminals. In those forty years insanity had increased 700 per

cent and crime 600 per cent. In 1890, of the 82,329 convicted adult criminals, 71,225 had committed offenses against property rights, while only 10,104 had committed crimes against the person. This is accounted for on the ground that the people were growing poorer.

It is very apparent that the distribution of property is not equitable. The people who produce all wealth now, own but one-tenth of it, and the idlers, the non-producers, are possessed of nine-tenths of all the wealth. There are many sharp schemes for cheating the producers out of their earnings, but I will, in this article, name but one of them. The railroads cost in their construction but six billions of dollars, but they were stocked for twelve billions, and are operated so as to earn dividends on that vast sum.

Ex-Governor Larrabee of Iowa—unquestionably good authority—says that they cost less than \$25,000 per mile, but were stocked up for \$60,000.

The presidents and vice presidents of the roads receive \$9,000,000 salary per year. Five millions are paid for "law expenses" and for lobbying legislative bodies, and then \$375,000,000 profits are made. In 1897 nineteen hundred miles of rail road were constructed and they were capitalized at \$212,000 per mile. Russia builds her railroads at an average cost of \$10,000 per mile, and gives the public excellent service. In Belgium, the government owns the railroads and a working man can buy a ticket, good for six trips a week, of forty-two miles at fifty-seven cents. In the United States 800,000 men are employed in railroad-

ing (not in constructing) ; 184,404 are trackmen and receive on an average \$1.15 per day of twelve hours, and are laid off half of the year. Many of the presidents receive from \$25,000 to \$100,000 per year as salaries.

One-half of the Americans own practically nothing. One-eighth of the people own seven-eighths of all the wealth. Is it any wonder that insanity and crime are increasing?

DEPEW'S PROSPERITY.

Chauncey tells the American workingmen that they produce annually \$2,000,000,000 more in products than they consume, and that they produce cheaper products than any other workingmen in the world. Do you hear that, Mr. Worker? With the political ballot at your disposal; you work cheaper than any of the wage slaves in the old despotisms of Europe; and your abundance of food, clothing, fuel and shelter are two billion dollars annually more than you can consume. Did sixty million American workingmen authorize Mr. Depew to make this statement to their capitalistic masters who composed the Republican National Convention at Philadelphia? If they did not, and Mr. Depew assumed to speak in their behalf, he forgot to mention one important item which is of great concern to the American workingmen, and that item is the first count in the indictment Socialism has drawn against the capitalist system of production; namely, the stealing of eighty-three per cent of every dollar's worth of products produced by the working

class. Mr. Depew and his capitalist cronies can chuckle at the fool workers buying back a dollar's worth of their stolen products, on the installment plan, with 17 cents. By the way, Workers, Mr. Depew knows that the working class will never consume what they never get. He also knows that those invisible threads of capitalism which bind the workers to their capitalist masters, are like the spider webs—unseen to both victims—however, science and genius are casting light upon the invisible threads, and the long, dark night of slavery and poverty, suffered by the working class in the midst of the greatest abundance ever known on this earth, is nearing its end. Their freedom is foreshadowed in the concentration of the means of existence in the hands of a few persons, called capitalists, and the development of the trust is a signal warning to the intelligent workers to organize themselves under the banner of International Socialism, capture the political powers, and emancipate themselves from wage slavery. Then the products produced by the workers will be theirs instead of the idle capitalists.

Hurrah, for the trusts! They are clearing and paving the way to establish the workingmen's co-operative commonwealth.

A STARTLING ARRAY OF FACTS.

The total wealth of the United States, according to the estimates of the government's official Statistician, is sixty-two billions of dollars. Upon this wealth is a bonded and mortgaged indebtedness of over forty billions of dollars. The annual increase of this debt, by interest alone, is not less than three billions of dollars. The interest on this is an annual tax on every man, woman and child in the whole country of \$34.30, or on every family of five persons, of \$171.50.

As a matter of fact, the producers, the actual working people, pay it all, but they do not yet understand the means by which this monstrous injustice is accomplished. We have eight billions of dollars bonded indebtedness held abroad on which we pay annually three hundred and twenty million dollars interest.

There are more than nine million mortgages on American homes and lands. Thirty thousand people own thirty-five billion dollars, or more than one-half of the wealth of the nation. Fifty million Americans own no homes, and have to pay either rent or interest.

No man can be free who has to pay another for the bare privilege of living.

There are three million unemployed in this free and "prosperous" America, or about one-fourth the total population.

One million two hundred thousand child laborers below the age of sixteen years, working long

hours in factories and sweat-shops. Two million, toiling twelve to sixteen hours a day for such beggarly wages that they must either die of want or live by shame.

It is learned that twenty-seven individuals or corporations own, in the United States, twenty-two million, five hundred and thirty-two thousand acres of land, while three millions of American citizens are out of employment.

Two hundred and forty thousand saloons to breed misery and crime. Twenty-three thousand men and women killed and mangled on the railroads of this country for the want of proper safeguards. Ten thousand five hundred murders in 1896, a gain of 1,000 per cent in ten years, while the population gains only one hundred per cent in twenty-five years. This is an average of one murder each hour in the day for every hour in the year. To which must be added 7,000 suicides last year, and these increasing more rapidly than the murderers. Thirty-five thousand little children dying annually from starvation and want. Twenty thousand people of all ages dying annually in New York City alone from want. Two hundred and sixty thousand great financial failures during the last thirty-five years. One million of failures for men with less than three thousand dollars each, small grocers, restaurants, hotels, etc., average business men, "the bone and sinew of the nation." Bank embezzlements and failures during 1896, \$25,000,000. The foreclosure of not less than twenty-five per cent of the farms and homes of the people. Two hun-

dred and ten million acres of public lands granted to railroad corporations. These are the bitter fruits of ignorance, apathy, prejudice and partisanship on the part of the people by which their rulers have been aided and encouraged to pile up this monstrous iniquity. Forty billion dollars debts. Nine million mortgages. Three million unemployed men. War, famine, litigation, murder, suicide and utter loss of faith, all increasing with appalling rapidity. But no punishment, no law can suppress the rising tide of crime and debauchery and despair until the cause is removed.

CIVILIZATION.

What sort of a civilization and industrial system is it that never brings peace? Either we are suffering stagnation, with all the crooks, criminals, thieves and murderers terrorizing us, while starvation and the army of the unemployed frighten us with the nightmare, or we have "prosperity" and "trade picking up," with everybody going on strike, and police and militia everywhere trying to fraternize capital and labor with club and bayonet.

Capitalism is an utter failure, everywhere and at all times, to give us peace. Its good trade is only one whit less evil than its bad trade. Surely the world will some day get very tired of the whole blind staggers system that does nothing but blunder and stumble along, scattering disorder and misery and ruin at every step, year in, year out, forever.

COMBINE AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT.

There is a combination of armor-manufacturers and one of ship-builders, both intimately related. The armor factories and the ship yards in these combinations have been paid for, several times over, out of the profits on government contracts, says the New York Journal. The armor-makers, in recent years, have doubled the price of their products. When the government, their only customer, asked for some figures from their books to show that this increase was just, the manufacturers informed it that it was asking about matters which were none of its business. When they put in bids they did so in open collusion, with no attempt to conceal their conspiracy. At the same time the ship-builders were charging more per ton for ships—in some cases over fifty per cent more—than they had charged fifteen years before, when the prices of all materials were enormously higher. The government had ship-yards of its own, which it had equipped at a cost of scores of millions of dollars. There was a proposition to release it from the grip of the insolent ship-building and armor combinations by having it build some of its ships in its own yards and establish its own armor plant. The idea was popular in Congress but the combination "controlled and awed" the representatives of the people, and the government meekly surrendered to the trusts. After the adjournment of Congress the armor makers put in bids that had manifestly been prepared by a single hand,

and impudently notified the government that it must divide its orders between two establishments or get no armor, and instead of ordering the conspirators off the premises and ruling them out of any future competition, the Secretary of the Navy meekly begged them to make another proposition. Why did the "patriots and statesmen," who so loyally "represent the people," so bitterly oppose and defeat the proposition to have the government build and operate its own armor-plate plant? Because if it should be demonstrated that the people could in that manner reduce the cost of their war ships from one-half to two-thirds, it would be very bad news for some men.

TO MR. ROOSEVELT.

In the campaign of 1900, Mr. Roosevelt, you claimed that the issue of the campaign was the continued prosperity of the American people, and you pointed to the increase of wages as evidence of the workers' welfare. We would ask you: Is the increase of wages you mention due purely to the benevolence of the prosperous employers? Or is it not rather due to the power of labor organization to restrict ruinous competition in the labor market and thus raise the price of their labor power? If you reply that prosperity has enabled the employers to pay more wages, do you not merely mean that the productivity of labor has been so greatly increased that the employers can accede to the demands of their workmen and still make more profit than formerly? If prosperity is the result of increased productivity of labor, why do you claim the glory? Or is the Republican party the sole inventor of that improved machinery which enables labor to produce more wealth? You say you wish a continuance of the era of the "full dinner pail;" you believe in protecting American labor from foreign competition. If foreign competition is hurtful, can home competition be good? If competition of any kind is hurtful why do you not advocate Co-operative Socialism? If you and your party believe in protecting organized American labor, why did your predecessor send Federal troops to Idaho to aid the Democratic Governor of that State in crush-

ing out the Miner's Union? If it was to protect property, as you did when you sent the State militia to Croton Dam, N. Y., does that not mean that you will protect the property of the plutocrats, though to do so you must deprive working men of their liberties and lives? Is not the bloody record of the labor trouble since the '70s a mass of conclusive evidence that the Republican and Democratic parties both stand ever ready to sacrifice manhood on the altar of mammon, the god of greed? You speak of working men as a separate part of the people. Does not that admit that there is another part of the people who do not work? Since people can only get their living by working, begging or stealing, have those who, like your friend Hanna, are not working people, begged or stolen their millions?

Why has not the Republican party protected the American labor that produced this wealth from these beggars and thieves? If we should admit that the capitalist works, would not you admit that he simply works the people—for all they are worth? Is such work productive of anything but misery and want to the mass of the people? If you believe that "all conspiracies to restrict business or control prices" should be destroyed, why have you not used the present laws to suppress such trusts as do exist? If the present laws are inadequate, why have you not advocated better legislation? Or, are labor organizations the only criminal trusts you know of? To this question we demand a particular answer. Not a single combination of capital have you attacked,

not one solitary trust have you suppressed, though by raising prices and organizing their industries, they have plundered the people of millions and deprived thousands of their means of livelihood.

Yet your party has sent troops to destroy the miners' union in Idaho for merely defending the rights of its members against the aggression of a combination of mine owners. Did you not agree with Cleveland that the A. R. U. was an "illegal combination for the restraint of trade," and that Eugene V. Debs' imprisonment in Woodstock jail was just. What word of encouragement have you given the coal miners? What measures have you taken against the owners? Do you not stand for the capitalists and against the workers every time? You say that the Republican party is pledged to the gold standard. Did you not pretend in 1896 to favor bimetallism? If your silver pretensions in 1896 were dishonest, are not your pretensions of enmity to trusts, and friendship to labor, also false? Did the war for humanity in Cuba demand the slaughter of the helpless natives in the Philippines? Was it necessary to avenge the Maine by sacrificing the lives of thousands of our volunteers? Did "our plain duty" dictate the feeding them on embalmed beef, exposing to the deadly fevers of foreign swamps, and debauching them with whisky and disease? Is not the real cause of this criminal aggression the desire of American capitalists to acquire territory in which to invest the wealth they have squeezed from American labor? You say that you will deal with these people the same as with the American peo-

ple. Do you mean that the methods of the Wardner bull-pen will be in vogue among them? Or will you establish in this country the military despotism you are endeavoring to establish in the Philippines? Is the imprisonment of Socialists and trade unionists in San Juan the method you will pursue to inculcate American principles of self-government? Finally, Mr. Roosevelt, is not the record of your party replete with crimes against labor, with wrongs against humanity, with injustice to the poor and oppressed of many nations? Have you not favored in every possible way the aggrandizement of the trusts? Have you not launched the nation upon a career of colonial expansion to widen their markets and to open for them new fields of investment? Have you not crushed all opposition with a ruthless, brutal hand, whether it was American trade unionist, Puerto Rican Socialist, or native of the Philippines? Do you know of any reason why any working man or any good liberty-loving citizen should vote for either of the old parties when he can cast his ballot for a representative of the principles of the Socialist Party, the party of his own class?

A HISTORY-MAKING TERM.

If the Declaration of Independence is to be taken as authority, and who among us all, even among the capitalist class itself, dare repudiate it? "these truths are self-evident; that all men (and if that means anything it does not exclude the Boer in South Africa, the Cuban, nor the Filipino, nor yet a privileged class in this country), all men are born equal, with certain inalienable (and inalienable, I take it, means natural, inherent rights, rights from which you may not be divorced) rights, and among these, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." And further, that governments are instituted among men to guarantee them those rights. That is to say, a government is a protector, a benefactor, or servant. If the government is our protector, evidently it is to protect the weaker members in society from the stronger. The working class, although in a great majority, are economically and politically weaker. Socialists maintain, with the framers of the Declaration of Independence, that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of these rights, but in the light of our economic condition we hold, that no such right can be exercised under conditions essentially destructive of life, of liberty and happiness. Against these conditions Socialists protest, declaring that private ownership of the instruments of production and distribution are the cause, and call upon all wage workers to organize under the banner of

the Socialist party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer by taking possession of the political power; so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of the classes, the restoration of all the means of production and distribution to the people as a collective body and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which the worker shall have the full product of his toil, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization; a commonwealth in which all shall have at least equality of opportunity. The property the Socialists would take from the capitalist is "that part of wealth, owned by one man or set of men and operated by another man or set of men, with a view of profit to the owner and wages to the operator;" that is, they would take only that part of his wealth which is superfluous, over and above what he can himself operate. Abolish interest, profit and rent. It would in no case take from him his means of living, but insure him and his employment for which he would receive the full product, if able to work. If too young or too old, or in any way unable to work, he would be the honored charge of society, whose duty it is to protect itself through its members. While taking from the capitalist, the exploiting class, the wealth they have taken from the workers and returning it to the workers, it will

in return guarantee them for all time the rights of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, which all their wealth and power does not do. How many reformers there are who hold up their hands in horror of Socialism and cry, unjust, etc., who themselves champion such so-called palliatives as municipal ownership, single tax, income and inheritance tax, without seeing that the adjectives they apply to Socialism are in every respect true of their own pet schemes. When they speak of taxing heavily, lands, stocks and incomes, they aim at the large capitalist, who, holding the power of government in his hands, can easily evade their laws, even were they able to enact such laws. They entirely lose sight of the thousands of aged citizens, orphans, widows and educational institutions whose only means of support are invested in those securities and who would be made paupers, or nearly so, by increasing the already heavy tax on their little holdings, or by forcing the sale of stocks at par for which they paid large premiums; thereby cutting into their little holdings—providing of course their little scheme works as they would have it work.

WHAT DO THEY OFFER HIM IN RETURN?

The same they offer the worker when they deprive him of his means of support, his job. They offer him nothing. Since the question of justice is brought into the argument, which is the more unjust—the scheme of the Reformer (?) or Socialism? We might swallow their proposed nostrum as many an “ostrich” does if it would in any

way benefit the worker. But it would not. But that is another story. It is not a question of justice, it is a question of power.

How are we going to survive the further development of capitalism, which Spencer foresaw in his boyhood? When the wealth is in the hands of a few and one man can with the aid of machinery supply the needs of ten, what is the dispossessed nine to do who have no means of living? They will not meekly crawl off into a hole and die like poisoned dogs. They will turn like the proverbial worm and demand their own. That is why the Socialists call upon them to organize now, and take intelligent, political action before it is too late.

AS TO THE FLAG.

Mr. McKinley's fervid inquiry: "The flag; who will haul it down?" has provoked some peculiar and disgusting revelations. For instance, the Springfield Republican, an independent newspaper of wide circulation and influence, contained the following: "What will especially surprise many people in the United States is that this business (of female prostitution in Manila) has been taken under the official recognition and supervision of the United States Army Authorities, after the manner of certain European Continental cities. It is, according to Mr. Johnson, the New York Voice's special Commissioner to the Philippines, 'conducted under the supervision of a regular department of the military government, the department of Municipal Inspection.' Two whole streets

are entirely taken up with houses of ill-repute,' writes Mr. Johnson. At night these two streets are filled with drunken soldiers, rioting, yelling Americans, and half-naked women. In this settlement there is scarcely a house of prostitution which is not decorated with American flags, inside and out. Some of them have American flags painted clear across the front of their establishments. All have glaring signs of American beers either inside or out. "The flag, who will haul it down?" Sentiment is all right, as far as it goes, but when it involves such a grave departure from right principles as is noted above, there are few decent Americans who will feel like standing by McKinley's sentiment in reference to the flag. If the ensign is a "flaunting lie," or if it stands for governmental protection of Sulu slavery, polygamy, and of other vices and unspeakable crimes, will the American people, jealous of their own rights, and their own good fame, dare to let it stand?

HOW THE PEOPLE ARE OUTRAGED AND ROBBED.

There are 28,000 Englishmen in India, holding official positions, and drawing salaries amounting to \$75,000,000 a year. The natives of India have no control whatsoever, in any shape or form, over their own taxation; they have no voice in the expenditure of the taxes they pay. The taxation of the land is so heavy that farms are rapidly going out of cultivation. In the central provinces the land tax is one-half of the produce of the land. Under the native rule, in the years when

the land lies fallow, it is taxed one-eighth. In the British provinces fallow land is taxed to the full. The net revenue in India to-day is \$305,000,000. Of this amount \$125,000,000 is raised by the land tax. Salt, which is a necessity of life for the people and their cattle, is taxed 1,000 per cent on the value of the salt. Half of the total net revenue of India is drained out of the country. A yearly sum of \$150,000,000 is taken by England from the peasantry of India, and nothing is given in return. Eleven hundred retired Colonels draw over a million a year in pensions from the Indian revenue.

The people of India are the poorest peasantry in the world. The average income per day is less than 2d. Since the great famine of 1876-7, we have abstracted \$2,500,000,000 from India, and this has prevented the development of the resources of the country. Hence, we have the famine of to-day. India is practically in a state of bankruptcy, caused by the drain of its wealth to England. In the best seasons the peasantry have only enough to barely support life. In the province of Madras there are always twenty million of pauper peasants. It should be remembered that one hundred and fifty million of the population of India are dependent upon agriculture. England is the absentee landlord of India.

England is not only a heartless robber, but a hypocrite as well. She is rich, cruel and self-righteous. A year or two ago, when Emperor William of Germany visited Queen Victoria and sat down at her table, there was spread on that

board plate to the value of ten millions of dollars. Victoria was lauded to the skies as a wise and pious Christian Queen, and doubtless she was a well-meaning, harmless old lady, but the system of laws and economics that made her a queen and pensioned a little army of her relatives, at the expense of working people, is the same system that has made six hundred thousand paupers in England. It is the same system that makes one-fifth of the people of London so distressingly poor that when their wretched life ends, they are laid in paupers' graves. Just now there are Americans who see great superiority of the British government over all others, yet the naked truth is that that government and her business methods are the most wicked among civilized nations. A few decades ago England forced the infamous opium traffic on China at the cannon's mouth, and the evil that resulted to the people of that country has never been estimated and never can be estimated. England killed the Boers, burned their homes and devastated their country, that they might rob those quiet people of their gold mines and of their liberty. Instead of feeding the starving people of India, whom they have robbed, they are spending their money in destroying a weak republic in Africa, and are preparing to grab a portion of China, while they go to the whole world and beg other people to contribute money with which to buy food for the victims in India. Let all honest men and women be done with hypocritical cant about "Christian England." Let every true American refuse to give his sanc-

tion to the proposed alliance of that country to this, sought by the great capitalists now in control of our government.

England, with her king, her dukes, her lords, her titled nobility, and her paupers, her grasping greed, her hatred of democracies, her inhumanity in dealing with the Boers and with India, is a modern Babylon, and is Christian in name only. Under the universal reign of Socialism, India would be free, pauperism would be abolished, ignorance and crime would in due time disappear; kings and lords and robber millionaires would be no more, and in the place of war and cruelty and outrage we would have prosperity and peace.

BISHOP POTTER OF NEW YORK ON THE "RICH AND POOR."

Private capital in the means of life and necessities of society, like a disease fastened on the human body, is giving evidence of the effects which it produces in the body politic, and, as in the case of the man afflicted with disease, who tries to persuade himself that he is not seriously sick, and who takes every means but the right one in dealing with his disorder, the ruling class is trying to persuade itself, and to get the people to believe, that the symptoms which indicate chronic disorder in our international society, can be dealt with in regular capitalistic fashion to the destruction of the evil and the ultimate benefit of all. Bishop Potter, of New York, had an article in the Sunday's Chicago American, of August, 1900, set up in large type, with many headings of larger type over the various paragraphs, and his picture set between two artistic candelabras in the center of the whole printed matter, the whole designed to catch the eye, and through the eye the mind of the reader who can be awed by the display of ecclesiastical forehead, neck, dress, and signature, to the exclusion of logic, consistency and force in the subject under discussion. He writes of "The Teachings of Jesus Concerning the Rich," and the "Power of Wealth," "The Peril of Riches," and "The Dangers of the Rich Man From Which the Poor Man Is Happily Free." He seems to write from an idea in his

mind that there is an antagonism to wealth existing in society, and then he used the word wealth, as being synonymous with a capitalist. He does not care to contemplate what would happen should half a dozen rich men disinherit themselves, tomorrow morning giving fifty millions of dollars to the poor, and concludes (after refusing to contemplate) that the "possession of riches is not inconsistent with 'our' Christianity, nor alien to it." He notes the power of possession of wealth to stimulate the instincts of cruelty, to extinguish those finer traits which make life sweet and sunny, to make heaven and the life that is to come unlonged for, and after expatiating on the dismal prospect of the rich man standing at the gates of Heaven and looking back on the houses and lands, bonds and bank stocks, etc., he turns off to fit the quotation, "The poor ye have always with you," and "Charge them that are rich in this world's goods," against such as "Sell all that thou hast and give to the poor," with the result of recognizing that one's views of the inequalities of life must include that of wealth along with those of station, beauty, etc., etc. His idea throughout the whole article seems to be to cover up the rottenness which exists, while upholding the private possessions of the great wealth, which, if owned collectively, would cause said rottenness to disappear. He flits all around the subject and lights here and there to use this or that beak of scripture to extract whatever comfort he can from "the conformity of 'our Christianity' with the possession of wealth," to ease the conscience of the

possessors. "And so wealth, money, whether you possess it or crave it, or are seeking after it, is yours, like space, and air, and sunshine, which God has given to His creatures to desire, to employ, to enjoy, in His fear and as His stewards." "If you hear wild and foolish denunciations of it, despise them as they deserve." Who will be "taken in" by such nonsense? The "man of God" is upholding a Hell on Earth. He is upholding the private possession of what is as necessary to life as air and sunshine—the wealth of the earth, and stands sponsor for its possession by those who, by the cruelty, which he says its possession stimulates, may inflict and do inflict starvation on those within their sphere of influence. They are able to change the quotation to read, "The starving ye have always with you." Yes, wealth is here on the earth, and like space and air and sunshine is for all men to enjoy, and if God has thus given it, as the Bishop says, why does he uphold its possession by the few at the expense of the numberless? Does he not know that, in order for them to be millionaires, there must also be thousands robbed of their inheritance of the wealth of the earth and their labor, to make up the millions? Why does he refuse to contemplate the pandemonium, etc., which would reign in New York should a dozen rich men disinherit themselves of fifty millions to be distributed to the poor, while upholding the system under which these fifty millions were gathered together? Millions of people, children, women and men, were compelled to toil, starve and die so that these

dozen men might become millionaires, and the Bishop and his colleagues not only contemplated the process but witnessed it. They saw "the idleness, the licentiousness, the fierce hatreds, etc., engendered "under the process of a few dozen men accumulating millions, and as Christian men they acted not to make the condition of the miserable mass better, but worse. They acted according to the interests of the class which is benefited by the degradation of the masses composing the opposite class and encouraging them (the working class) to use less and less of what they succeed in getting of their products, so that the class of millionaires might benefit.

When the Bishop's writings appear before those who understand the hypocrisy, or ignorance, or the motive which led him to unburden himself of this load of rubbish, they become disgusted to contemplate how many will take his advice to despise those who point out the injustice of this system, which makes it possible for society to hoist such a parasite on a pedestal, where he may influence the ignorant to blind their eyes and stop their ears to shut out the truth. He is supposed to represent the author of "Sell all thou hast and give to the poor," and he sanctions selling the poor the bare necessities of life and taking, therefore, their life's blood through excessive toil and anxiety for the morrow: "The poor ye have always with you," and he upholds the system which changes it to "the starving;" "Charge them that are rich in this world's goods," and instead of "charging" them he is simply tak-

ing what they will give him to act as their tool in deceiving the workers into continuing their own slavery. Yes, Mr. Bishop, we know "that wealth, like space and air and sunshine" is ours to enjoy, and that is why you hear, not wild, but scientific, denunciations of its private possession as capital by the few to exploit labor. That is why we are calling on those who recognize this injustice and those who are victims of it, to unite, to cast off the scales from their eyes, that they may see that it is theirs to enjoy, when they lose their chains, which their ignorance binds, and which your class seeks to weld more firmly. When they refuse your services and unite with their class at the ballot box, to strike for the possession of what is theirs to enjoy, they will get it. Then will be realized a quotation which your class has conveniently overlooked, "Bear ye one another's burdens," and the burdens will be light indeed, especially for those who now drag the chains of wage slavery. Work and vote with the Socialists to bring such a condition about.

HOW CAPITALISM REDEEMS ITS PRE-ELECTION PROMISES.

Shortly after the shouts of triumph over Republican victory died away, and long before the ballots registering the endorsement of the "full dinner-pail" policy had been counted, McKinley's native State contributed the following significant comment upon the folly of the dupes of capitalism:

Steubenville, O., Nov. 8, 1900.—The management of the National Steel Co.'s Mingo Junction plant, to-day offered the men a new scale of wages that makes reductions in the existing rates of from 20 to 61 per cent. The new scale is based upon new methods of working, which makes twelve hours a day's work, and renders the tasks so hard that none but the biggest men can stand the twelve hours' strain. The offer of the new scale comes of the determination of the company to resume operations, after being closed six months. The mills have been surrounded by a high board fence surmounted by electric wires and spikes. Everything is ready for a fight, as it is expected that the men will resist the reduction.. —Chicago Record.

Let us see: What bait was it that the Republican politicians held out to the working men before election? What was the printed legend with which thousands of bill-boards and fences were decorated in the interests of McKinley and Roosevelt? What motto did the numerous "Working-

men's Republican Clubs" plaster upon the windows of their club rooms, and hand across the streets of our great cities? Was it not "Prosperity, Plenty of Work and High Wages?" And now the National Steel Co. starts in to redeem the promise in true capitalistic fashion. As was foretold by Socialists, weeks prior to the election, the necessity for "re-adjustment" of wages would dawn upon the capitalist class immediately after Nov. 6. And here it comes. Twenty to sixty per cent reduction, on the existing rates and a "new method of working." Thus do the crafty owners of the means of production make good the first article in their promise. The new arrangement undoubtedly means prosperity for them. Regarding the second clause in the pre-election promise, dealing with "plenty of work," no one can justly accuse the owners of the means of production of neglecting the fulfillment of this invaluable privilege. If the "new methods," involving "twelve hours" and a task so hard that "none but the strongest men can stand the strain," does not fill the bill in every respect, the working men who voted for it are certainly hard to please.

It cannot be denied that the measure of "plenty of work" is to be kept "heaped full and running over." As to the workers, their share is the fight, for which we are told "everything is ready," so far at least as the other party is concerned. The electric wires and spikes are all in place, the working men who are "expected to resist" have graciously "left themselves naked to their enemies," the police, militia, regulars, judges, and every

other power in the land are standing by ready to supplement the efforts of the National Steel Co., in case the electric wires, spikes, etc., fail to sufficiently protect the property of the prosperous ones from the blind attacks of the dupes whom they had lured into disarming themselves through promises of "high wages" and "full dinner-pails." Yes, "everything is ready." Let the battle commence at once. Perhaps the vanquished will learn that in their anxiety "not to throw their votes away," they have in reality not only thrown themselves defenceless, but actually armed those whom they proposed to fight. By all means let the scrap proceed. There is nothing to it. Capitalism wins in a walk,

NO HOPE FOR THE TRAVELING MEN.

Baltimore, Md., Oct. 16, 1900.—Theodore Marburg, the capitalist, and brother of Wm. Marburg, of the tobacco trust, delivered a speech on trusts at a meeting of commercial travelers here, yesterday, which caused a sensation. He said, in part: "I have little consolation to offer the traveling man. There is nothing at present that indicates his rehabilitation. To talk of abolishing trusts is as idle as to talk of abolishing newspapers, or of breaking up the great trunk lines and restoring the many small systems that previously existed. "The trust was born primarily of the fierce competition between American manufacturers. If the tariff in any way conduced to it, it was only by building up manufactures in America and providing the conditions for competition. It was the competition, not the tariff, which produces the trusts." As at present loosely organized, the trusts present many objectionable features. These can be in a measure removed by organizing the trusts under a national law. We can demand of them publicity of accounts. We can recover for the people a part of their profit in the form of public revenue.

The displacement of the traveling man is the result of an economic movement quite disconnected from politics. He will not better his condition by voting for Bryan. What Bryan's victory would involve would be a great business depression, which would simply deprive the traveling man

of what opportunity he may now possess to find employment in other fields." Marburg came into prominence in politics after the Republicans had won the State and elected Lowndes Governor and Hooper Mayor.

"The average commercial traveler fears that he will lose his grip if the trust mania is not stopped soon."—Buffalo News.

Well, what of it? Is not the job looking for the man," as McKinley said?

If the commercial man does lose his grip, can he not get a grip on something else, say a pick and shovel, for instance? Average labor is in demand, is it not? No man who really wants work need remain idle, at least we have heard that remark made so often that there must be some foundation for it. What is the matter with the commercial traveler, anyhow? He is a hustler. Then let him get out and hustle. This is a free country, where a man can always sell his labor power, providing he can find a purchaser. If the drummer fails in this, the only suggestion we can offer him is that he get a grip on the principles of Socialism, and then the "trust mania" will not trouble him any longer. But whatever he may think now, "to this conclusion must he come at last."

VICTIMS OF TRUSTS.

The coal trust keeps wages down and the other trusts force the cost of living up.

"The cry of agony that goes up from the great anthracite coal fields is a cry wrung from the white lips of a ruined people, against the heartless

trusts. While the miners are making ready for a struggle that may fill the cemeteries of Pennsylvania and bring sorrow and privation to half a million persons, the newspapers owned or controlled by the mine owners are slandering the men and their leaders and treating their grievances with jesting scorn. I have been going from mine to mine, in the company of Homer Davenport, the Journal's distinguished cartoonist, in an honest effort to give the actual facts to the whole country.

"We have eaten in the cabins of the miners and have, in every case, gone to original sources for information. The miners themselves and their wives and children are the best witnesses. Nothing I have to say is based upon the statements or arguments of labor agitators. But the one mighty fact which stands forth in this scene of confusion and penury is the appalling changes which the trusts have worked in the condition of the mining population within two years. The strike is simply an industrial hemorrhage. It is a local symptom of a disease that is attacking the whole body. I find as an established fact, which may be investigated and verified in an afternoon by any citizen who cares enough for his country to take the trouble, that the trusts have so increased the costs of living that the miners of the great anthracite coal region have been forced to give their wives and children less to eat and less to wear in order to make their wages cover their expenses.

"The coal trust keeps the miners' wages down,

while the other trusts keep forcing the cost of living up. The result of this scientific squeezing is dreadful to contemplate. The coal railroad stock and bondholders and the mine holders are making greater profits than ever. But the mining population is sinking into a condition of hopeless semi-starvation. Decent miners are compelled to send children ten and twelve years of age to work in the blackened breakers. There is no help for it. With the trust closing in around the miners' homes from opposite directions, he must send his little ones to slave in the mines or let them starve. Can the American look unmoved upon this unequal contest between a multitude of hard-pressed miners and the trust system? Have sordid influences so deadened and perverted us that our sympathies will not quicken at the sight of so much undeserved and preventable suffering? Is the cry of half a million persons in anguish and industrial bondage to be answered by a sneer or a jest, or a cheap accusation that the proposed strike is inspired by political motives? Accompanied by Mr. Davenport, I visited many of the mining settlements in the neighborhood of Hazleton. Near McAdoo is the gray huddle of crooked shanties, known as Old Honey Brook. The distant landscape is green and pleasant to look upon, and the fragrance of the pines comes faintly over the stark hills of coal refuse and the gloomy chasms that surround the wretched place. Little rills of dirty water trickle among the shanties, and goats and geese wander here and there in the sun-scorched stretches of sprawling streets.

The shanties are old and full of cracks and cran- nies, yet they are crowded with men, women and children. We were in one of those dread theaters of want and death, in which human greed, work- ing through the trust system, damns and denies the claims of civilization on American soil. We were there to learn the truth and to tell it. From house to house we went. There was not a person in Old Honey Brook so lacking in intelligence that the cruel lesson of the trust system had not been learned. In the street we met a brown-skinned Hungarian woman, whose husband worked in the nearest mine, while she worked as a baker. She was a clear-eyed, intelligent woman, prematurely aged by toil, bare-footed and dressed in the cheap- est of gingham. 'Yes,' she said, 'it costs a quarter more to live than it did a year or a year and a half ago. Everything is dearer—meat, flour, cof- fee, sugar, tea, tobacco, clothes, shoes and oil. My husband gets no more wages than he did when prices were low.' Presently we were seated at the table of a veteran miner, with his wife and three daughters. The whole trust question, stripped of its mask, was laid bare in a few minutes.

"All the statesmen and hair-splitting doctrinar- ies who serve at the shrine of the trust were an- swered in that humble place. 'Here,' said the old miner, turning to his wife, 'tell these gentlemen what the trusts have done for us, and they will tell the American people about it. Give them the prices the trusts make us pay for the necessities of life. It is about the same in the mining region, I suppose, as in the rest of the country. Wages

have not risen. We were just able to live on our wages before, but the trusts have lifted the prices so high that most of us have to eat less. I could not live if my son and two of my daughters were not working. No married man with children can live on a coal miners' wages now, unless his children work, too.' The miner's wife gave me a list of prices showing how the trusts have raised the cost of living."—Jas. Creelman, in the *New York Journal*.

SKETCH OF THE HELLISH CONDITIONS PREVAILING
IN THE COAL REGIONS OF PENNSYLVANIA.

(Drawn from a capitalistic source.)

The following account, taken from "Public Ownership," is by far the best we have yet seen of the great miner's strike. The facts are taken verbatim from the report of the capitalistic Publishers' Association: "The story of the grievances and sufferings of the miners of Wyoming valley would fill a book: The chief grievances may be summed up as follows: 'The company stores.' They are unlawful under a special definite statute of Pennsylvania. The companies deny that such a thing as the company stores exists, but it is a mere juggling of words, as they are called 'supply' stores. The stores supply the miners with the necessities of life and the account is deducted from the men's wages at the end of each month. The prices in company or 'supply' stores range from 10 to 40 per cent higher than in outside stores—a fair average would be 25 per cent. The men do not have to deal with the supply stores if

they think they can buy cheaper elsewhere, say the operators. But it is a fact that the man who persists in dealing elsewhere suffers excessive dockage, is given bad breasts to work in, is limited on cars, and in a dozen other ways is disciplined.

“ ‘The monthly payment of wages.’ The operators say it is done to keep the men from squandering their money. There is a statute in Pennsylvania requiring that all laboring men be paid at least once in two weeks. There seems to be a law here to cover every one of the men’s complaints, but the companies appear to regard statutes, as applied to them, in the light of jokes. The only other explanation heard for the failure to pay twice a month is that it saves book-keeping and thus obviates a lot of expense and trouble for the operators and company stores.

“ ‘The mine bosses.’

They have almost dictatorial power; they abuse that power. They are kings away down in the bowels of the earth. Some of these bosses go so far as to compel their subordinates to suffer indignities which would make a Zulu commit suicide. It is a shameful thing to write—but right here, in Scranton, a city of 100,000 inhabitants, there is at least one mine boss who uses his little brief authority to compel his men to yield to his desires their wives and daughters. It is W. B. Colver, the reporter for the Publishers’ Press, who makes this statement (not a ‘wild-eyed’ Socialist).

“Docking and Measuring.”

The operators say, that "wages are the same now as they always have been ; that is, a man gets as much per ton." But a car is a "ton." And for years the cars have been steadily growing larger. There have been strikes or threats of strikes and the operators have granted concessions. Straight-way an extra two or three inches of plank is added to the sideboards of the car. The Pennsylvania statutes declare that a miner's ton shall be 2,240 pounds. The cars now in use hold 3,400 pounds and must be heaped up four and six inches high, so that after taking away the slate and dirt the company has one and one-half tons of clean, marketable coal. For mining this the men get on an average 92 cents per car. That is how the coal is measured. Then comes the dockage. After a car has been filled, it is hoisted out of the mine to the top of the breaker. Here it is dumped. The breaker boss, who is another despot as tyrannical as the mine boss, has a docking clerk at the top of the breaker. This man—often one who has never been in a mine and knows nothing about the business—glances at the car of coal, or fails to glance at it, if he sees fit, and marks on the board 'half car docked, or 'quarter car docked,' as he sees fit. The men are docked about 15 or 25 per cent, and sometimes much more, on all the coal they dig. 'Short time and division of labor.' This, next to the powder grievance, is the chief complaint of men. Of course the inhuman indignity to wife and daughter cannot be classed nor compared to ordinary evils. The men go into the mines at 6:30 or 7 o'clock in the morning.

The manager or superintendent orders that a certain number of cars be sent down to be filled that day. If there are a hundred men and three hundred cars, one would suppose that each one would get three, but not so. One boss may do as he sees fit, and he does. His favorites get the easy-working 'breasts,' or faces. They also may get eight or ten cars to fill for their day's work, while the luckless miners, objects of the bosses' dislike, are sent to a hard, narrow tunnel, and may get but a single car for the day. When that car is full they must stop. Each miner has a helper who is paid by the day. The helper's time goes on, whether the miner has one car or ten, so that it may happen that a miner is actually poorer when he quits work than when he began. One miner showed me his statement for the last two weeks in April. He got \$4.27 for the two weeks' work. The same man got 77 cents for the first half of June, and \$9.75 is the best he has made in any two weeks for four months. No matter when the men get their cars filled, they must stay in the mine, in black, stifling, damp and chilly solitude until time for closing the mines. Many a man sits crouched in his tunnel six hours for the privilege of working three hours.

"The 'Powder Question' is a most serious one. The men are charged \$2.75 per keg for powder that costs ninety cents. That powder may mine them less than enough to pay for itself. That all depends upon the mine boss. The men are allowed to work one, two, three, or four days a week, half a day or all day, or not at all, as the

operators may decide, but they must report for duty every day."

Read this, wage workers, industrial slaves, and reading it, remember that your day is coming when the same conditions shall environ you that now impress the members of your great class who wrest the black diamonds from the bosom of Mother Earth, to heat your homes and drive the machines you are permitted to attend. Think of the inhumanities that capitalism prompts—yea, compels men to practice upon their kind. Conceive, if you can, the condition that compels men to sacrifice their wives and daughters for a mere privilege of working for a bare existence for the pittance of 77 cents for two weeks' work. Realize that if something is not done, it will not be long until that sum will measure your wages, and that your wives and daughters will be the price of the opportunity to "earn" even this.

And now, lest there still linger in your mind a suspicion that there are no classes, in "this great, free country," read the continuation of the press reporter's account of the miner's distressing condition. Learn whether or not there are classes and class interests: "It is known that the Retail Dealers' Association of the entire district has agreed to cut off all credit as soon as the strike begins. This is because they have been notified by the wholesalers that the retailers themselves can expect no credit." Of course the company stores will shut down on the men at once.

Now, perhaps you will know that the capitalists are class-conscious. The big merchants cut

off the credit of the small retailers, and force them to shut down on their customers (in this case, the striking miners), in order to starve the latter into submission to the exactions of the mine owners and operators, who are members of the capitalist class to which the big wholesalers belong. Oh, no, there are no classes, and the capitalists are not class-conscious.

Wage workers, organized and unorganized, do you see? What is there left for you to do but to unite, class-conscious yourselves, in a political party—ready at your hand, the Socialist party—and on the political field, where numbers count, wrest from your exploiters the means whereby they oppress you? Take the reins of government and direct its course to the Co-operative Commonwealth, where all may labor who will, and none shall eat who will not, where wealth will belong to its makers; and drones and industrial despots will be known no more. Strike on the industrial field, because you must, but strike at the ballot-box because there your strike will win. Vote that the government shall own the mines, and that men's wives and daughters shall be preserved in chastity, and health, for on this rock rests the future welfare of man.

THE CAPITALISTIC LAW OF "NATURAL SELECTION" IN ITS RELATION TO THE LABOR MARKET.

The Pueblo Courier, in speaking of the condition of the railroad employes in Colorado, has the following: "The examination of railroad employes is becoming so severe as to arouse a good deal of complaint and discontent, so rigid are the rules now that many men who have given their lives to the railroad service are finding themselves out of a job, and, being unfit for any other avocation, are drifting dangerously near the poorhouse. Of course it is necessary to look to the safety of the traveling public, but what consideration is the railroader receiving? The company or the State can look out for the welfare of the passenger, but are impotent to assure a good condition for old employes who are willing to work. The condition is getting to be a serious question to railroad men, and many are thinking about changing the competitive system to one of co-operation, under which all human beings will be assured of the opportunity of labor and a decent livelihood."

Within this short paragraph we may find a complete illustration in one particular industry, of the conditions which exist essentially in all, and which are certainly forcing, as the paragraph says, "many to think about changing the competitive system to one of co-operation." It shows conclusively that labor power is a commod-

ity to be bought on the market, the rigid examination complained of being merely the capitalist method of selecting the most suitable raw material which that market affords. The labor power which has been used continuously in this industry, and which is now being superseded by more efficient labor power, finds a complete analogy in the antiquated and worn-out locomotives and other rolling stock which now lie unused on the scrap piles of the railroad companies, after being replaced by more efficient machinery of production of the same nature and for the same purpose. "It is necessary to look to the safety of the traveling public." Why, certainly. That is the source from which dividends materialize. But the same necessity also compels the company to supersede their old employes, by younger, stronger and more efficient ones, for exactly the same reason.

The "traveling public," in this case, may be said to be the passive factor, while the labor power, applied to the transportation of their persons or goods, is the active one in the wealth productions of railroads. It is necessary, if the best results (measured in dividends), are to be attained, that the active factor be at least equal in efficiency to the average labor power, or, if possible, above it. Consequently the old employe finds himself "drifting dangerously near the poorhouse," just as the old locomotive gravitates towards its final resting place on the scrap heap. And herein lies the difference between the employe and the worn-out machine—the former can think. And as he "drifts" he thinks, and his thoughts will neces-

sarily turn towards Socialism, as those of his masters did towards supplanting him by more profitable labor power when his efficiency fell below normal. Yes, conditions, and conditions alone, move the masses of men to think, and that thinking always has for its object the material interests of the thinker. The utter indifference with which the capitalist abandons his worn-out tools to starvation will be met with an equal indifference upon the part of the exploited ones towards any alleged "rights" in the means of production which the capitalist, through "legal" ownership, regards as his individual private property.

CAPITALISM DECIDES THE FATE OF THE MAN OVER
FORTY.

It may not be a very original remark, or one that adds anything to the general stock of human knowledge, to observe that there is one thing which every individual human being, without exception, is doing at the same time, that is, growing old. In the Chicago Chronicle of July 8th, 1900, an editorial, entitled, "Shall We Asphyxiate Them?" appears. It deals with the man who has passed the age of forty, and for whom it states that the commercial world has no possible use, while younger and more vigorous manhood can be procured to carry on the work of the world. As the man over forty has the same physical necessities of food, clothing and shelter, as his fellowmen who have not yet attained the undesirable age, and as his forty years are coming to be regarded as a positive drawback to his capacity for

making profit for the other fellow, the Chronicle interrogates its readers as to what shall be done with the man who has passed two score, and, true to its capitalist nature, assuming that the present economic system is permanent, sarcastically inquires whether we shall asphyxiate him.

Whether the man over forty would peacefully submit to this process, and who the "we" are who are proposed as his executioners, the Chronicle does not inform us. But as the owner of that paper is a banker (who, by the way, indorsed the Building Contractors in their fight against the Trades' Union), it is fair to conclude that the "we" in this case implies the capitalist, the employing class, the same fellows to whom the man past forty vainly applies for work, and who, knowing that his profit-making power is impaired by age, and that if he lives he must still be fed, thus reducing their profits, propose that he shall be deprived of his (to them) useless life.

But let the Chronicle speak for itself: "Another great railroad corporation has pronounced against old men, not such very old men, either, for the inhibition extended to men over forty. The man who has reached that age may not be newly employed in any capacity. The company will not, however, discharge him if he is already in its employ. This much concession to old and faithful servants. But other corporations are not so considerate. Instances are numerous and well known of wholesale discharges of old men. The employer is usually frank about it. He declares that he can get more and better work out of young

men than he can of old men. He is in business to make money, and not from philanthropic motives. Hence he proposes to get the most work for the least money whenever he can. That is the business view of it. He does not desire to mix charity with business. A Chicago philosopher of some reputation once declared, after profound reflection, that every man who reaches the age of forty should be taken out and killed, but he based his conclusion not upon the uselessness of such men, but upon the theory that at the age of two score "men become satisfied with the status quo and are consequently clogs upon the chariot wheels of progress." But whether the philosopher was right or wrong, there is some reason to anticipate that we may eventually have to adopt this program. It would be cruel to allow the veterans of forty and over to starve to death, and it is likely to be a heavy charge to feed them. The obvious expedient is, put them out of the way as dogs are dispatched by the pound-keeper. For business is business. The "survival of the fittest" means the fittest up to thirty-nine years old. The others are out of it."

This sarcastically proposed remedy is, strange as it may seem to a superficial observer, thoroughly logical from the point of view of such organs of capitalism as the Chronicle, and it is an ominous sign of the inevitable bankruptcy of that accused system. The Chronicle desires to maintain capitalism and capitalism robs the working man of his labor power during his prime, and then at forty turns him adrift. The Republican robbers

recognize this difficulty, and make a pretended attempt to meet it by some vain talk of an old age pension, but that simply means (if it has any meaning, taking into account those who propose it), that the superannuated workman must be fed at the expense of the capitalist class, and "business is business," as the Chronicle remarks. The problem is not solved and the proposition for asphyxiation still stands.

True to their class interests, the capitalist press always considers such questions from their class standpoint. That their proposed victims should ever take the initiative in averting their own destruction by overthrowing the system which presents this puzzle to their masters, is never even hinted at. But the Socialist will see to it that this "problem" is removed from the consideration of the capitalist by continually urging the removal of the causes which bring it into existence. They will relieve the Republicans and Democrats of the trouble of solving it, by asphyxiation or otherwise. To the working men for whom this paragraph is printed we would say: You, like all other men, grow old. When past forty, you will be a "problem" for your masters, candidates for possible asphyxiation, or probable starvation, both of which are perhaps more likely than that you will become the recipient of an old age pension—for that leaves the "problem" still there. Although your masters speak sarcastically in considering your fate in the future, the "problem" is, after all, for yourselves to solve. When you understand its terms you will see that it means a strug-

gle for existence. That you will quietly get off the earth at the bidding of your masters is not very probable. You will have to see as they do, that "business is business," and that your particular business is to stay on the earth as long as you can, even if you have to kick the self-appointed arbiters of your destiny off it, in order to remain upon it yourselves. You can cease to be a "problem" for their consideration, only by joining with your fellow-workmen for the abolition of the system which throws your worn-out body on the streets to starve, when your masters can no longer extract the average profit from it.

In deliberating thus upon how to dispose of you, they in reality give you your choice between asphyxiation or starvation on the one hand, and socialism on the other. Which will you have? As your masters say, "It is the survival of the fittest." Are you fit? Are you going out at thirty-nine, or would you like to stay and see the show a little longer?

Capitalism is the only issue before the American people, and before every other people of western civilization. It can be met by one principle only—Socialism. Either capitalists and capital will own the people or the people will own the social capital. The trusts will own the masses, or the masses will own the trusts. The former is capitalism; the latter Socialism. On a thousand details we may differ, and many such details will have to be threshed out, but on the fundamental principle those who care for men before the money must and will unite. What the people

socially need, the people must socially own. That is, social ownership is the original resource, and private ownership is the product of one's toil.

What compensation did poor old Mergenthaler get? The inventor of the typesetting machine which bears his name, died in New York, a comparatively poor man. His invention was the greatest revolution in the printing trade since the invention of the power press, and realized the dreams of thousands who had worked upon the problem of a mechanical substitute for hand labor in the composing room. But, like so many of his class, Mergenthaler had no head for business, and when he put the products of his brains into a combination, as his contribution to the capital stock, he was soon frozen out and the men of money controlled the machine which he had spent so many weary years in perfecting.

And all this was done in a perfectly lawful manner. Indeed, the character of the men who did the freezing is in itself a guarantee that everything connected with the deal was most legitimate and business-like. Such men as Whitelaw Reid, the great editor, and one-time candidate for Vice President of the United States, would not stoop to swindling methods. Perish the thought. But the fact remains that Mergenthaler invented the machine, was frozen out and died poor, while Whitelaw Reid and his fellows invented nothing, did the freezing out, and have already amassed millions from the brain work of the dead man. How much better it would have been for the inventor had he lived under a system in which the

government (the whole people) would compensate him for his addition to the mechanical wonders of the age, and reserve their use and all their benefits to all the people. As it is now, Mergenthaler has gone practically unrewarded, thousands of printers have been thrust out of a livelihood, with no compensation for the years spent in learning their trade, and a band of idle capitalists are reaping the benefits. But the idle printers have at least the opportunity to study in their many leisure hours.

A TALE TOLD BY A VICTIM.

In the popular conception, the progress of what is called civilization, is frequently measured by the amount of improved machinery and labor-saving devices in use by the community in discussion. Those who use tools of production which are up-to-date, are generally conceded to be in a more advanced stage of development, and as a rule this conception is true enough. But along with this, another idea takes form, that the owners of these improved tools are consciously assisting the march of progress, and that partially for this reason these improved tools are brought into action. Nothing is more false than this idea. The first and only question which arises in the mind of the capitalist, when an invention is brought under his consideration is, "Will it pay me?"

That it sometimes happens that a new labor-saving appliance may, through peculiar circumstances, offer no such immediate inducement to the capitalist, the following account by a disgust-

ed inventor amply demonstrates: One of the best mechanical engineers in New Orleans told an interesting story, apropos of the tribulation of inventors. "During the year of 1897," he said, "I got up a little device which greatly simplified the working of a certain type of pump. I took out a patent that cost me in the neighborhood of three hundred dollars, including attorney's fees, and finally submitted the thing to a big manufacturing concern in the North. The proprietors at once conceded the merit of the invention, and offered me \$500 down, and a royalty of \$1.25 on each one used. The cash payment amounted to nothing, for it really fell short of covering my time and expenses, but the royalty was generous and I figured it out that it would yield me an income of \$3,000 or \$4,000 every year, perhaps longer; it depended on how soon something better entered the field. Accordingly I accepted the proposition and transferred all my right. Now, how much do you think I have actually received? Not a penny. No. I have not been cheated; at least all the accounts have been perfectly straight. The trouble is they never put the device on the market. They simply stuck the patents and drawing in a pigeon hole and there they remain to this day. Why did they do it, did you ask? To save money. The public is very well suited with the pump as it stands, and it is doubtful if they could get any more for it with my improvement added. Such a step would merely cut down the profit, so they prefer to let well enough alone. It was necessary, of course, to get my invention safely

shelved or it might have been taken up by some enterprising rival, and the only earthly reason for spending \$500 on the thing was to put it out of the way. It was rather rough on me, to be sure, but the experience was valuable, and I will not get caught that way again. My case is by no means exceptional, either. Dozens of inventors, all over the country, have had exactly the same experience." It will be noticed that the buyers of the products of this man's brains were quite ready to recognize the merits of his invention. The question is, "Will it yield me profit?" could not be answered in the affirmative; but it might, nay, certainly would, have yielded a profit to some rival, therefore the proper method was to buy the right of its use, and then promptly lay it on the shelf.

The inventor, in telling the story, does not think he was cheated, which shows that he must still have an abiding faith in "business" morality. The most curious part of the narrative is that this inventor was shelved, but it is rather extraordinary that he was not able to see this before surrendering his product. If he will only look a little more closely into the nature of this transaction, he will understand that the inventor, as well as all other workers who possess nothing but the power of labor, brain or hands, are both equally defenseless against the capitalist exploiters. Capitalism will only employ inventors when profit accrues, just as they will only employ labor power under similar conditions. The place of the inventor is in the ranks of the Socialists, where, along with

his exploited fellow-workmen, he can fight for the overthrow of their common enemy, the capitalist class. Regarding his last statement that his is no exceptional case, we are inclined to believe that he is correct. The capitalist will religiously suppress anything that will not yield profit, and there is no doubt that, like the dog in the manger, he will prevent his rivals from profiting by any invention that he himself cannot use. That is the nature of the beast, and if this inventor wishes to see the product of his brain become a social value, he must strike for the abolition of the system of individual ownership of the means of production, by which his efforts are paralyzed.

THE CURSE OF PROFIT.

I feel sure that the time will come when people will find it difficult to believe that a rich community, such as ours, having such command over external nature, could have submitted to live such a mean, shabby, dirty life as we do. And, once for all, there is nothing in our circumstances save the hunting of profit, that drives us into it. It is profit which draws men into enormous, unmanageable aggregations, called towns, for instance; profit which crowds them up when they are there, into quarters without gardens or open spaces; profit which will not take the most ordinary precautions against wrapping a whole district in a cloud of sulphurous smoke; which turns beautiful rivers into filthy sewers; which condemns all but the rich to live in houses idiotically cramped and confined at the best, and at the worst in

houses for whose wretchedness there is no name. I say it is almost incredible that we should bear such gross stupidity as this; nor should we if we could help it. We shall not bear it when the workers get it out of their heads, that they are but an appendage to profit-grinding, that the more profits that are made the more employment at higher wages there will be for them, and that, therefore, all the incredible filth, disorder and degradation of modern civilization are signs of their prosperity. So far from that, they are signs of their slavery.

When they are no longer slaves, they will claim, as a matter of course, that every man and every family should be generously lodged; that every child should be able to play in a garden close to the place his parents live in; that the houses should, by their obvious decency and order, be ornaments to nature, not disfigurements of it. All this, of course, would mean the people—that is, all society—duly organized, having in their own hands the means of production, to be owned by no individual, but used by all, as occasion called for its use, and it can only be done on those terms.

On any other terms people will be driven to accumulate private wealth for themselves, and thus, as we have seen, to waste the goods of the community and perpetuate the division into classes, which means continual war and waste.

HAVE WE TOO MUCH?

While we, the great American people, are “hammering at the gates of Peking,” as Mr. Depew

says, in order to dispose of that \$2,000,000,000 worth of products which we cannot consume, would it not be well to see if there are some consumers among us, even yet, who could do with a trifle more? Here, for instance, are two cases picked at random from a Chicago paper: No. 1.—“Forced by destitution to the verge of insanity, and shivering with cold, Mrs. Emma Muhs, of 178 North Green street, left her seven children, including an infant but a few weeks old, and wandered muttering and moaning through the streets until taken in charge by the West Chicago Avenue Station. She wore a wretched old wrapper, her feet were bare and bleeding, and her hair hung uncombed and unfastened. The officers conveyed her to the detention hospital, and an hour later took four of the children to the same institution. The baby, covered with sores, and scarcely alive, was taken to the Foundlings’ home. Robert and Willie, aged 4, were given homes by relatives at 71 Bissell street. Homer, 13 years old; Emil, aged 11, and the two little girls are still at the detention hospital, and will be brought before Judge Tuthill in the Juvenile Court. Mrs. Muhs’ husband, who was a teamster, was killed not long ago by falling from his wagon.”

No. 2.—“In an alley back of Princeton Avenue, near 37th Street, Mrs. Sarah Elliott, 101 years of age, was found by the police after having been evicted from a small room, which she occupied alone, in that neighborhood. The woman was crouching in the shadow of a barn, and was shivering with cold under the meager protection of

a ragged blanket. She had begged the landlord to wait a few days, when she believed that money would reach her from grandsons fighting in the Philippines. Her plea was refused. Mrs. Elliott was born in the north of Ireland, and came to this country more than forty years ago. Her daughter, who is now an old woman, is sick at the county hospital. In spite of her great age the unfortunate woman is active and has retained all of her faculties. She was too proud to beg and had been without food for twenty-four hours. She was taken to the poorhouse at Dunning."

Incidents like these, which, although so common as to pass almost unnoticed, and which yet might be multiplied indefinitely, give the lie direct to the smooth, glibly lying hypocrite who, at the Republican convention, gabbled so eloquently of the inability of the American people to consume the surplus, created by the labor of the community. Could the unfortunate women and children above mentioned have consumed anything more in the way of clothing, food and shelter than fell to their lot? Is the wearing of a "wretched old wrapper" an unfailing sign that more clothing has been produced than can possibly be consumed? Can "bare, bleeding feet" be reconciled with the fact that a pair of women's high grade shoes can be turned out in a "fraction under fourteen minutes," as was the recent boast of a capitalist shoe factory owner of Chicago? Can these two facts be harmonized, unless upon the supposition that the capitalist production is an insane, irrational system? Read this over again, and let

the horror of the thing soak into you. "Forced by destitution to the verge of insanity and shivering with cold," the mother of seven children wanders moaning and muttering through the streets until taken in charge by police. Baby, a few weeks old, covered with sores and scarcely alive; father, a teamster, killed by a fall from a wagon a short time before; rags, hunger and wretchedness, a "home" consisting of a small room, broken up (not by Socialism, either); a woman 101 years old crouched in the shadow of a barn shivering with cold under a ragged blanket, and the sons fighting on the other side of the world for the purpose of forcing \$2,000,000,000 worth of products from 800,000,000 Asiatics. Would you not say that an economic system which gives results like the above is, in reality, a combination of hell and a lunatic asylum?

“AM I MY BROTHER’S KEEPER?”

Hello, John. “I have been a Republican since 1860, but my party stinks in the nostrils of decent men. If the people are willing to uphold such corruption, as many of the leaders practice, and to condone their dishonesty, God help the country.”
—John Wanamaker.

Very commonly we hear men say, Yes, it is a pity that things are so bad; but it is no fault of ours, and nothing we can do will mend them. Now, John, this is a cowardly and dishonest excuse. It is the old plea of Cain, “Am I my brother’s keeper?” No one can shirk his responsibility. We are none of us guiltless when wrong is done. We are all responsible, in some degree, for every crime and sin, and for every grief and shame for which, and by which, our fellow-creatures suffer. Do your duty, John. Do not lie to your soul any more. Long have you known that injustice and misery are rife amongst the people. If you have not acted upon the knowledge, it is not because you knew it to be useless so to act, but because you were lazy and preferred your ease, or because you were selfish and feared to lose your own advantage, or because you were heartless, and did not really feel any pangs at the sight of the sufferings of others. “These common sights of the common streets,” John, are very terrible to me. To a man of nervous temperament, at once thoughtful and imaginative, these sights must be terrible. The prostitute under the

lamps, the baby beggar in the gutter, the broken pauper in his livery of shame, the weary worker stifling in his filthy slums, the wage slave toiling at his task, the sweater's victim, "sewing at once, with a double thread, a shroud as well as a shirt"—these things are dreadful, ghastly, shameful facts which long since seared themselves upon my heart. "All this sin, all this wretchedness, all this pain, in spite of the smiling fields and the laughing waters, under the awful and unsullied sky. And no remedy! These things I saw, and I knew that. I was responsible as a man. Then I tried to find out the causes of the wrong, and the remedy thereof. It has taken me some years, John. But I think I understand it now, and I want you to understand it (Socialism), and to help in your turn to teach others. Yes, John, you fellows smell pretty bad. There are awful practices amongst your kind of people. There are those who get rich by taking the coal away from the miner; those who in the factory rob the children of youth and education; those who conduct sweatshops and reduce men, women and children alike, to the conditions of ignorance, squalor and disease, those who sell the products of the factory and sweat shops, and make their clerks work long hours for short pay. You, John, are one of the latter sort, and you have made a great deal of money dealing out cheap goods through the medium of cheap help. You did it for profit. That is what all of the others did their "business" for. You are just as good as they are. And if the army beef men, and the rotten clothing men, and the armor plate

men get a little more profit than you do, John, do not get fretful and begin to talk about God. That is just what Republican John Rockefeller, and Carnegie, and Vanderbilt, and all wise capitalist Johns talk about when they want to wool the people a little more. Dishonesty is a hard word, John. Of course you would not do anything wrong for the world, but these other fellows are terrible grasping, eh, John? God does not seem to be able to do much while you fellows are in charge of "business," John. But some time the people will take a hand in business. Then, good-by, John Wanamaker, and all other God-fearing (?) man despoiling cheapjohns. "Many of the leaders" includes all of the robbers, and you are fairly in it, John.

CAPITAL AGAINST LABOR.

It is a well-known fact that in all conflicts between capital and labor, the capitalist enters into the strife knowing that he can fill the place of every striker within a few hours. The supply is so great, and the anxiety to obtain work so strong that men will even risk their lives at the hands of the oftentimes desperate strikers in order to gain a position. The capitalist has no fears about getting laborers—the only fear he has is, that organized labor should, by force and violence, prevent his “scab” workmen, as they are termed, from proceeding. These facts must conclusively refute the statements too often made that “men won’t work,” and “there is work enough if men are only willing to do it.” Such is not the truth. I can find many instances where good, steady workmen have offered to the foremen of certain establishments ten and twenty-five dollars and even the whole of the first month’s wages, if they would find them employment.

But how about the “bums,” who will not work, even when it is offered to them? And the reply is worth the thoughtful consideration of all. Let me ask, what is a “bum?” As a rule, you will find him to be a creature degraded by circumstances and evil conditions. Let me illustrate: A man loses his job by sickness, or some other unavoidable cause. He seeks work, and I have shown you how difficult it is to find it. He fails time and time again. Is it any wonder that he grows

discouraged, and that, picking up his meals at the free lunch counter, sleeping in the wretched lodging houses, associating with the filthy and degraded, he, step by step, drifts further away from the habits of integrity and industry that used to be a part of himself. He sinks lower and lower, until overcome by circumstances, he is at the bottom of the social layer—a “bum,” at once a menace and a disgrace to the city. Instead of blaming and condemning him, poor fellow, we should look at the circumstances that made him what he is, and endeavor to remedy them.

I myself spent six months in 1894 earnestly seeking work, around Chicago and vicinity. Yes, riding Pullman side door Gondolas, and then had to change my name before I got a job, because I was an A. R. U. striker. No, I assure you, it is only a narrow, ignorant, superficial view of affairs that will lead anyone to doubt the existence of such widespread poverty, and the difficulty there is to gain employment. I know thousands of people will meet my statements with their cool-blooded and virtuous remark that, “No one can earnestly seek work and not find it,” and thus shuffle their own responsibility on some poor wretch who is close upon the verge of one of the three precipices of desperation, despair or crime. Let me emphatically condemn that remark, as in many cases absolutely untrue.

Nothing better and more practical that I know of has been uttered on this subject than by Robt. G. Ingersoll, in his “Crimes Against Criminals,” and from that speech I extract the following:

“Whoever is degraded by society becomes its enemy. The seeds of malice are sown in his heart, and to the day of his death he will hate the hands that sowed the seed. * * * A punishment which degrades the punished will degrade the man who inflicts the punishment, and will degrade the government that procures the infliction. The whipping-post pollutes, not only the whipped, but the whipper, and not only the whipper but the community at large. Wherever its shadow fall it degrades. * * * What is the condition of this man? Can he get employment? Not if he honestly states who he is and where he has been. The first thing he does is to deny his personality, to assume a name. He endeavors by telling falsehoods to lay the foundation for future good conduct. The average man does not wish to employ an ex-convict, because the average man has no confidence in the reforming power of the penitentiary. He believes that the convict who comes out is worse than the convict who goes in. He knows that in the penitentiary the heart of this man has been hardened—that he has been subjected to the torture of perpetual humiliation—that he has been treated like a ferocious beast; and so he believes that this ex-convict has in his heart hatred for society, that he feels that he has been degraded and robbed. Under these circumstances what is open to the ex-convict? If he changes his name there will be some detective, some officer of the law, some meddlesome wretch, who will betray his secret. He is then discharged. He seeks employment again, and he must

seek it again by telling what is not true. He is again detected, and again discharged. And finally he becomes convinced that he cannot live as an honest man. He naturally drifts back into the society of those who have had a little experience; and the result is that in a little while he again stands in the dock, charged with the commission of another crime. Again he is sent to the penitentiary, and this is the end. He feels that his day is done, that the future has only degradation for him."

The convict should feel the protecting power of the State. He should be given a "chance" when discharged. Some of his prison earnings should be given him to begin life anew. This would give him food and raiment, and enable him to get to some other State or country where he could redeem himself. If this were done, thousands of convicts would feel under immense obligations to the government. They would think of the penitentiary as the place in which they were saved—in which they were redeemed—and they would feel that the verdict of "guilty" rescued them from the abyss of crime. Under these circumstances the law would appear beneficent, and the heart of the poor convict, instead of being filled with malice, would overflow with gratitude. He would see the propriety of the course pursued by the government. He would recognize and feel and experience the benefits of this course, and the result would be good, not only to him but to the nation as well.

CO-OPERATION.

Invention has filled the world with competitors, not only of laborers, but of mechanics of the highest skill. To-day the ordinary laborer is, for the most part, a peg in the wheel. He works with the tireless machine—he feeds its insatiable maw. When the monster stops the man is out of employment—out of bread. He has not saved anything. The machine invention was not for his benefit. Some time ago I heard a man say that it was impossible for good mechanics to get employment, and that, in his judgment, the government ought to furnish work for the people. A few minutes later I heard another say that he was selling a patent for cutting out clothes, that one of the machines could do the work of twenty tailors, and that only a short time ago he had sold two to a great house in New York, and that over forty cutters had been discharged.

On every side men are being discharged and machines are being invented to take their places. When a great factory shuts down, the workers who inhabited it and gave it life, as thoughts to the brain, go away, it stands there like an empty skull. A few workmen, by the force of habit, gather about the closed doors and broken windows and talk about distress, the price of food and the coming winter. They are convinced that they have not their share of what they created. They feel certain that the machines on the inside were not their friends. They look at the mansion of the employer, but have nothing themselves. The

employer seems to have enough. Even when employers fail, when they become bankrupt, they are far better off than their laborers ever were. Their worst is the toiler's best.

THE CAPITALIST AND HIS SPECIFIC.

He tells the working men they must be economical, and yet, under the present system economy would lessen wages. Under the great law of supply and demand, every saving, frugal, self-denying workman is unconsciously doing what little he can to reduce the compensation of himself and his fellows. The slaves who did not wish to run away helped to fasten the chains of those who did. Lo, the saving mechanic is a certificate that wages are high enough. Does not the great law demand that every worker should live on the least possible amount of bread? Is it not his-fate to work one day that he may get food enough to be able to work another? Is that to be his only hope—that, and death?

Capital has also claimed and still claims the right to combine. Manufacturers meet and determine prices, even in spite of supply and demand. Have not the laborers the same right to consult and combine? The rich meet in the bank, club house or parlor. Workingmen, when they combine, gather in the street. All the organized forces of society are against them. Capital has the army and navy, the legislative, the judicial and executive departments. When the rich combine it is for the purpose of "exchanging ideas." If the poor combine it is "conspiracy." If they

act in concert, if they really do something, it is a mob; if they defend themselves it is treason?

How is it that the rich control the departments of the government? In this country the political power is equally divided among men. There are certainly more poor than rich. Why should the rich control? Why should not the poor combine for the purpose of controlling the executive, the legislative and judicial departments? Will they ever find out how powerful they are? A cry comes from the oppressed, the hungry, the downtrodden, from the unfortunate, from the despised, from men in despair, and from women who weep. There are times when mendicants become revolutionists—when a rag becomes a banner under which the noblest and the bravest battle for the right.

How are we to settle the unequal difference between man and machine? Will the machine finally go into partnership with the laborer? Can these forces of nature be controlled for the benefit of the children? Will extravagance keep pace with ingenuity? Will the workmen become intelligent and strong enough to become the owners of the machines? Will these giants, these titans, shorten or lengthen the hours of labor? Will they give leisure to the industrious, or will they make the rich richer or the poor poorer? Is man involved in the "general scheme" of things? Is there no pity, no mercy? Can a man become intelligent enough to be generous, to be just, or does the same law or facts control him that controls the animal or the vegetable world? The great oak

steals the sunlight from the smaller trees. The strong animal devours the weak—everything at the mercy of the beak, and the claw, and hoof, and tooth—of hand, and club, and brain and greed—inequality, injustice everywhere. The poor horse standing in the street with his dray, overworked, overwhipped and underfed, when he sees horses groomed to mirror, glistening with gold and silver, scorning with proud feet the very earth, probably indulges in the usual social reflections; and this same horse, worn out and old, deserted by his master, turned into the dusty road, leans his head on the topmost rail, looks at donkeys in the field of clover, and feels like a nihilist. In the days of cannibalism the strong devoured the weak—actually ate their flesh. In spite of all laws that man has made, in spite of all advances in science, the strong, the heartless, still live on the weak, the unfortunate, the foolish. True, they do not drink their blood or eat their flesh, but they live on their self-denial, their weariness and want. The poor man who deforms himself by toil, who labors for his wife and children through all his anxious, barren, wasted life—who goes to the grave without ever having a luxury—has been the food for others. He has been devoured by his fellowmen. The poor woman, living in the bare and lonely room, cheerless and fireless, night and day, to keep starvation from her child, is slowly being eaten by her fellowmen. When I take into consideration the agony of civilized life, the failures, the anxieties, the tears, the hunger, the crime, the humiliation and the shame,

I am almost forced to say that cannibalism, after all, is the most merciful form in which man can exist.

It is impossible for a man with a good heart to be satisfied with this world as it is now. No man can truly enjoy what he really earns—what he knows to be his own—knowing that millions of his fellowmen are in misery and want. When we think of the famished we feel it almost heartless to eat. To meet the ragged and shivering ones makes one almost feel ashamed to be well dressed and warm—one feels as if his heart were as cold as their bodies. In a world filled with millions, and millions of acres of land waiting to be tilled, when one man can raise food for hundreds, millions are yet on the edge of famine. Who can comprehend the stupidity at the bottom of this fact? Is there to be no change? Are the laws of “supply and demand,” invention and science, monopoly and competition, capital and legislation always to be enemies of those who toil? Will the workers always be ignorant and stupid enough to give their earnings to the useless? Will they support millions of soldiers to kill sons of other workmen? Will they always build temples and live in huts and dens themselves? Will they forever allow parasites and vampires to live on their blood? Will they remain the slaves of the beggars they support? Will honest men stop taking off their hats to successful frauds? Will industry, in the presence of crowned idleness, forever fall upon its knees; and will the lips unstained by lies forever kiss the robbers’ and imposters’ hands? Will

they understand that beggars cannot be generous, and that every healthy man must earn the right to live? Will they finally say that the man who has had privileges with all others has no right to complain, or will they follow the example set by their oppressors? Will they learn that force, to succeed, must have thought behind it, and that everything done, in order that they may succeed, must rest on justice?"

THIS WORLD OF OURS.

Occasionally the world's plutocracy pauses in its revelry of luxury and power, and with an air of assumed innocence asks: What is wrong? In the name of justice, what is right? Liberty is being crucified. Patriotism is dying. Justice is dethroned. The rich are reckless in their extravagance; the poor are starving.

Government, which is supposed to find justification in principles of reason and humanity, and derives its powers from the consent of the governed, has become a tool of oppression. Armed invaders are sent from one country to another to conquer its subjects. The militia is being strengthened. Plutocracy is arming itself for a contest and labor is preparing to accept the battle. Legislative influence is bought and sold, as though it was an ordinary commodity. Courts are corrupted and justice bartered. The ballot, the only instrument the people have to protect themselves with, except the bullet, is being tampered with, and to a great extent, controlled by corrupt "rings." A selfish, unscrupulous "ward heeler," or squirrel-

tailed politician, is considered of more account than a dozen honest voters. Corruption, monopoly and oppression are everywhere. The people are taxed on everything they handle, whether they eat it, wear it or use it in their different vocations.

The genius of man discovers new inventions, but the avarice of man at once monopolizes them, and they become agents of oppression, instead of beneficent discoveries. Wealth is concentrating in the hands of the few, and children are begging for bread. The wise are blind; the church is asleep; the press is subsidized or hypnotized, and the statesmen are scrambling for a "job." The idle army of workmen is increasing. Directly they will get hungry—ah, they are hungry now. Some are begging; some are stealing; some are starving; but all are verging on that madness which is the sure precursor of revolution. The eyes of the triumphant plutocracy see not the danger, and their hearts heed not the cry of the oppressed. The world is bright for them. Why should they care? "Am I my brother's keeper?" "Eat, drink and be merry, for to-morrow you may die." And the world swings around. The gulf is widening. "The conflict is nearing." Plutocracy is preparing Belshazzer's feast. Caesar is crossing the Rubicon. History is repeating itself, and God will wipe out the wrongs of humanity, although it sends back the hands of progress on the dial of civilization. God pity the homeless poor in this world of ours; the weary earth pilgrim with no place to call home.

God made the beautiful shining lakes, the wind-

ing rivers, the babbling brooks, crystal springs, and waving forests. He gave them to man. He gave them countless millions of acres of fertile land. Among his princely gifts were rich deposits of gold and silver, lead and iron, zinc and copper, and every metal that could lead to the happiness of manhood. He gave us strong arms, cunning hands and willing hearts. Man accepted the gift, and before his sturdy blows forests were felled; in their places sprung up cities with their golden spires and smoking chimneys, that pierced the blue above. Fertile fields yield their bountiful store of golden grain. The iron horse, shaking the ground beneath, and outstripping the wind above, carries its load of human freight, and delivers its precious stores in distant cities, bringing back the products of the artisan and the factory. Over the earth is stretched a network of wires on which messages are borne on lightning's wing. All these are the gifts of God and the products of man's labor. God sends refreshing showers and the beautiful sunshine and coaxes Mother Earth to yield her bountiful stores. Soft winds kiss the beautiful flowers, whose myriads of colors please the eye and gladden the heart.

But amidst all this plenty and beauty there is much sadness. "Man's inhumanity to man makes the countless thousands mourn." The rich have seized the lands. The poor have no homes. The flowers do not bloom for them. The beautiful palaces which they build with their own hands afford them no shelter. The song of the babbling brook is hollow mockery. Of the beautiful har-

vests they get a mere sustenance, and many beg that. The laws protect the rich and allow them to rob the poor. Each day the rich are growing richer, and the poor poorer. Usury and extortion are sapping the industries of the nation. What fond memories are connected with the word home. "There's no place like home." There a man's patriotism is anchored. There in the atmosphere of its wholesome influence, his whole being is ennobled. There, in the sweet companionship of wife and children, his character is cast into a finer mould. There he builds him an altar and worships God. There is exerted the kind influence of mother that will be carried over the golden wires of memory, in years to come, to guide the earning ones when they reach manhood. Looking back through the varying scenes of fleeting years, we behold the sweet smile of mother, the kind caress of father, and loving confidence of sister or brother. Oh, home. In thy sacred precincts were formed ties of love that will never be broken in life. How cruel to be robbed of home. How great the nation's sin that permits it.

"Socialism will destroy the family," shriek the defenders of Capitalism, and a lot of fool laborers and otherwise intelligent people are frightened from a further examination of the Socialist position. It is needless to say that no Socialist ever proposed or dreamed of any such thing, and one might be at a loss to know how the idea originated if it were not for the fact, which has long been recognized, that Capitalism always imputes its own sins to its opponents.

It is Capitalism, not Socialism, that is destroying all family life. It sends the wife and mother into the New England factories, while the father either cares for the children at home or is driven to the "stag towns" of the West, leaving the women to make up the "she villages" of the East. Even if they are still allowed to nominally make up a single "home," the father is not allowed to get acquainted with his family; his children scarcely know him. Worse yet, the factory invades the "home" and makes it that hell of feverish toil called a sweat-shop. At every point Capitalism pours its destructive venom out upon this supposedly cherished institution. It reduces the incomes of thousands to the point where marriage is an impossibility on the part of men and prostitution a necessity for the woman. It yearly drives thousands of men to desert their families, upon which, through lack of employment, they have become a burden, not a means of maintenance. It compels a large per cent of the population to live under conditions where children are born only to be killed by their surroundings, and sets a premium on infanticide through child insurance. Nor is this state of affairs confined to the manual laborers. The clerk in the department store may have the amusement of flattering himself that socially he belongs to the Capitalist class, but he is plainly told that he must not act upon that supposition to the extent of marrying and making himself a home. In all professional lines the same tendency is seen. Wages are calculated upon the

basis of what it takes to support a single individual at the standard which the employer thinks is necessary to be profitable to his business, and no arrangements are made for the "home." With the school-teacher this fact is even more brutally stated. The woman teacher is frankly told that, while she may have a husband, she must not enjoy the luxury of children. Furthermore, the salaries of the male teachers are kept at a point where marriage is impossible, and if he dares to marry a woman teacher, her salary stops and the "home" is again attacked. Some time ago one teacher was forced to make the awful choice between her child and her means of living and caring for that child. In the end she was not even allowed the choice, and when she had, as it were, sacrificed the society and care of her child for the power to feed it, the powers decided that she still might have some feelings of motherly interest in it, and so discharged her that both might suffer together.

Capitalism, after robbing its victims, charges them with murder. It is by no means a new device of capitalist society to charge the unfortunate victims of the wage system with crimes which in themselves can easily be traced to the necessities of profit-making, as the following extract from a New York paper will illustrate: "Of the children who passed through the Gerry society's hands last winter 1,708 were insured," said Superintendent Jenkins that day. "Many of these children, I am confident, were insured to be killed by neglect, or otherwise, so that those who

insured them might pocket the money. In child life insurance," continued Mr. Jenkins, "a parent or guardian or other person—for it does not matter to the insurance company who takes the policy—bets the insurance company that a certain child will die within a certain time, for all of these policies are made for a certain time, at the end of which they may be renewed. The company bets that the child will not die within the specified time. The insured puts up a stated sum when he registers his bet. If the child fails to die the money is lost by the payer and retained by the company. If the child dies the company loses the bet and pays the money." What sort of people are they who hold stock in such companies? They are the same crowd who support Gerry societies, the same hypocritical gang who constantly inveigh against gambling, the same type of people who get up the "crusades" against pool rooms, and form themselves into societies for the suppression of crap shooting. The same canting, Pharisaical crowd that Jesus denounced as "straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel." These wolves in sheep's clothing, whom the sight of a stack of poker chips fills with holy horror, have no scruple whatever in taking a hand in a game where the stakes are laid against the lives of the unfortunate offspring of the plundered victims of capitalist robbery. Agents, the most plausible and persuasive that can be secured, are constantly sent round to urge upon the parents the necessity of making provision for fatalities to which their

children are exposed. The more successful these agents are the more profit for the stockholders. When fatalities occur it is found convenient to charge the working class with deliberate infanticide for the sake of gain. This talk of insuring the lives of children for the sole purpose of obtaining the premium has been rife for many years, and it most frequently crops out when the dividends due the stockholders show signs of diminution. If it could be substantiated, there would be no trouble in revoking the charters of such insurance companies.

The great mortality among the children of the working class, whether insured or not, is one of the most striking evidences of the murderous character of the capitalist system. If an analysis were made it would most probably be found that where the mortality is excessive the workers are too poor to make even an attempt to insure. The truth is that capitalism murders the children of the workers and its upholders then charge the luckless parents with the crime. The "company" is a convenient scape-goat, upon which the sanctimonious capitalist stockholder can lay his portion of the guilt involved in the charges. The company bets—the godly stockholder does not approve of betting—but the tastes of profits are too sweet for him to forego. Therefore all will be well if only the cloak of "legality" can be thrown over the whole proceeding, and a more suitable name found for this commercial gamble, in which the lives of children are used as counters in the game. The ingenuity with which

capitalism covers up the traces of criminality has also created a wide selection of "respectable" names under which this particular form of profit-making can operate, and those who thrive by it still retain the odor of sanctity. And when the competition amongst the rival gamblers becomes too severe, and dividends consequently decrease, it is found quite easy to accuse the working class of making away with their own children and the "legitimate" profit of the "company" at the same time, and it is not unlikely that the latter is, in the eyes of its accusers, the greater crime of the two.

Is this the true position then? Is capital the friend of labor? Are the sweaters, the usurers, the land grabbers, the stock-exchange gamblers, the patentee monopolists, the property-lords, the syndicated exploiters, the subsidized upholders of capitalism—are these, I ask, the friends of the workers? If they are, why do we mutter against them behind their backs, though we cringe when they look at us; and why are we always complaining of the station in life in which it has pleased Providence and our good friends to place us for our own good? If they are not; if, so far from being the friends, they are the inveterate enemies of the workers; if we regard them as oppressors; if, as we exclaim at excited moments, they have stolen our birth-rights, and still conspire to keep us from our heritage; if we secretly hate and detest them and their infamous system of exploitation—why in the name of all the gods at once, do we continue to palter with them?

Why do we not come out and declare that we hate the capitalists and their allies with a never-dying hate; that we have no thoughts, no feelings, no interests, no aspirations in common with them; that there is eternal war between us—war, remorseless and unsparing?

DEMOCRACY EXPOSED.

How many thousand times have you heard of the "Jeffersonian Democracy?" What was Jefferson's idea of Democracy? It is all put by him in just fifty-nine words in his inaugural address, and here are those fifty-nine words: "A wise and frugal government, that shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government, and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities."

But suppose some leader could go far ahead of Jefferson, as Jefferson went ahead of his predecessors. Suppose we had a leader who would say and mean what follows: "Friend, I do not limit myself to Jefferson's views or to Jefferson's plans. He believed and our early Democrats believed that letting people alone to fight, compete and work out their own salvation would bring happiness and contentment at least to a majority. That belief was very pretty. But unfortunately we know now that the mere policy of giving every man a chance, and the Devil take the hindmost does not make happiness and contentment for a majority, or even for a reasonable minority. We know that the extra cunning of some men, the bribable nature, the intense selfishness of a great majority, means inevitable hardship and want for more than half the people. I say that

in this country there is or could be produced enough for All. I mean with your help and authority to see that it is produced, and once produced, to see it fairly divided. I am not satisfied with a government that takes from the mouth of labor the bread which it has earned. I want a government that shall say, Bread alone is not good enough for the mouth of labor. When labor which produces gets only bread, while parasite, cunning and capital, which exploit and plan, get cake and pie and jam, Democracy is a failure. A government which can only boast that it does not take bread from the mouth of labor has but little to boast of. I think as little of it as I should of a nurse girl if I heard her boasting that she never stole the milk from the baby, I would say to her, 'If that is your only recommendation, get out.' I would substitute for 'the wise and frugal government' described by Jefferson, a 'wise and generous government.' Would I have government discourage brains and energy? No, but does a father discourage brains and energy when he whips his boy for kicking his little sister? He makes a man of him. I would improve the energetic, intelligent strains of Americans by kicking decency into them.

"I go by what I see, not by fine generalities. I see a few thousands dying of over-eating and over-drinking, or shivering with nervousness, racked by watching useless piles of money. I see millions leading dull, gray lives; wants half satisfied; ambitions killed. We are a free people

with nine men in every ten haunted by fear of losing employment. Pretty freedom! We are a people of unlimited producing resources kept poor and pinched by laws of supply and demand. Who made those laws? The people. Friend, I shall sum up the supply and demand situation in a way that will be called anarchy by all save perhaps about seventy-nine million of our inhabitants."

WE SHOULD GOVERN, NOT OUR ANCES- TORS.

I have very little to say of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln. They were great figures in our history ; but they are dead now. And while old party speakers seem to hold communication with them and claim to know just what they would do now, what their policy would be, how they would deal with the Philippine question, the Cuban and the Chinese, I am somewhat inclined to think it a pipe dream, spiritus trimenti rather than an occult demonstration. I care as little about what they would do as a modern newspaper man does for the truth. The trouble with us is, we are like the Chinese—we are ancestor worshipers. The first thing we do when a new question arises is to hunt up our patron saint and find out what he would do, interpret his ideas to suit our own, and then swell up and say, "Jackson or Jefferson said so," and then expect the people to smite their breasts and say, "Kismet, fate, God is good ; it must be so." But rather let us read up and study, and then say, "I say so and I defy you to contradict." Don't shove the responsibility on a dead man. I know more what should be done to-day, and so do you, than any man who died a hundred years ago. We are all looking for precedents instead of trusting to our knowledge of the subject and acting accordingly.

Do not scoff at new ideas. Remember that

everything we have was a new idea once; that it fought its way up through just such antagonism as Socialism has to-day. Do not blame a man for his beliefs; he cannot help them. He simply acts along the line of least resistance, according to his knowledge. Do not think that we imagine we are exceptionally intelligent; we are not. We have simply been compelled to recognize, by such circumstances as the trusts and the necessity of large capital to carry on enterprises, that things are not as they were formerly. The entire industrial system has undergone a revolution. No longer does one man make an article, but often it takes one hundred men. Instead of being an independent producer of an article, he is dependent on many others. He no longer markets his goods, but is dependent on others to do it for him.

Socialists are not going around to get fun out of this. It is a serious matter. I want Socialism because I believe that I can get a great deal more happiness out of that system of society. And because George Washington did not know that such things as steam railroads, electric cars, telephones, telegraphy and other modern improvements were going to be invented, and therefore failed to make due calculation of their effect on twentieth century society, I do not see the necessity of my submitting to the economic changes they have produced. To tell the truth, I have but very little respect for the crimes of my fathers. For instance, I read of franchises being given for ninety-nine years. Think of that. It

means that a set of scoundrels in office can bind three generations to servitude without any hope of redress. What would you think if some man were to come around and present you a note contracted by your grandfather and request that you pay it? I do not believe that one generation has a right to shove their debts upon another. I do not believe in shoving the responsibility of your ideas upon a dead man. The sooner people break up their little idols and step boldly out into the sunlight of facts, and are no longer guided by superstition and traditions and rabbit feet, leave these things behind and look at actual conditions, the quicker we will get out of the economic nightmare and long-headed larceny.

Workingmen, speak out. Do not hold the language of slaves. Tell the capitalist class what you mean. Ask nothing of them as a favor. Claim your rights. Demand them. Tell the capitalist class that you will no longer submit to their dictates. I never could bear to see any one who wanted to sit down and stand up at the same time. That is why it makes me so impatient to see a workingman looking anxiously for a betterment of his condition and still shouting, "Hurrah, boys!" with either of the old parties.

Both the Democratic and Republican parties are catering to, and always have catered to the poor man's patronage with many great and noble promises, only to be broken after election. They have posed as the poor man's great friend, only that they might hold him while capitalists robbed him of his labor, his home and his fam-

ily. Through poverty they have made our parents paupers, our wives drudges, our sisters and daughters prostitutes and sent our children to their graves at a premature age. They have made of us thieves, liars, gamblers, criminals, tramps and drunkards wallowing in the slime and filth of the gutters and not worthy the name Man. They have done all this in the name of friendship.

Here are some "friends of labor," as evidenced by their records: Roosevelt invented a steel-barbed club to be used in putting down strikes. Stevenson refused his miners the privilege of organizing. Governor Steunenberg (Democrat), of Idaho, imprisoned striking miners in a bull pen and subjected the men, their wives and children to outrages which would have done credit to savages. Mr. McKinley sent troops to Idaho under General Merriam, to break up the Miners' Unions.

Andrew Carnegie addressed the Young Men's Bible Class of the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church on the night of Jan. 18, 1900, on "Stepping Stones to Success in Business." He said in part: "As a young man I had the best education in the world with which to begin life. I was born to the blessed heritage of poverty. I hope I speak to poor young men to-night. It is my earnest hope that none of you are burdened with the care of riches. In these days we hear a lot about poverty, but it will, indeed, be a sad day when poverty is no longer with us. Where will your inventor, your artist, your philanthropist,

your reformer, in fact anybody of note, come from? They all come from the ranks of the poor. God does not call his great men from the ranks of the rich. To my mind, the first thing for a young man starting out in life is to determine to do more than his simple duty. Do not be afraid of your employer. When you know you are right, stick to it, and fight it out with your boss. The boy who can beat me in an argument is the boy whom I want in my employ. He is the boy who will some day get into the firm. I say to fight it out with your employer when you are right. He may want a partner some day. He will go home and tell his wife about you. He will talk about you and—who knows—he may have a pretty daughter. There are several qualifications which the successful young man must have. First, he must be honest. He must be moral and he must be sober. I tell you that the young man who drinks can never be successful. You cannot trust a drinking man. He must not gamble. I want to say that I had just as soon trust the man who gambles at Monte Carlo as the man who gambles in Wall street. Then he must never do anything wrong in business—not even if an employer wants him to. He must stand up for his own rights and be a man. The successful man is not the man who is proficient in one thing and lacking in another. He must be a good all-around man, capable of doing all things well. There has been much discussion recently as to the advantages of wealth and what enjoyment can be obtained from it. The pleas-

ure enjoyed from riches is the good we can do our fellow men. Of every \$1,000 given to charity \$950 might as well be thrown into the sea. It is bad policy to aid the submerged man. Give your aid to the man who is fighting with his head above the water. There are three classes of young men who start out in life: First, there is the one who says he aims to acquire riches. Then there is the one whose ambition is to obtain a vainglorious reputation. He is the young man who would step in front of a cannon to attract the attention of men. And, by the way, this shooting business is bad business. I do not believe in taking a shot at a man, and worse, going out of your own country to do it.

"No man could ever get me to go out of my own country to kill a man. I believe that the only time to kill is when your native land—your own home—is in danger of invasion. The third, and the man who will be successful, is the man who starts out in life with self-respect, and who is true to himself and his fellows. He is the young man who cannot fail to win." At the conclusion of his address, Mr. Carnegie was introduced to those present by John D. Rockefeller.

For unadulterated badness in advice, this speech probably excels anything yet put forth by a defender of capitalism. Imagine a boy beating his employer in argument in hope of getting a partnership in business! Imagine a man being moral in commercialism! Think of a man "never doing anything wrong in business!" Of

course in "business" nothing is wrong, but think of the blow-hole armor-plate Carnegie sold the United States, and think of Homestead and then read the speech again.

OUR MANIFEST DESTINY.

The labor problem, the relation of the workmen and the trust magnates is speedily becoming the dominant issue of political campaigns. The capitalist class has been in power for some time past, and so far from proposing any solution beyond court injunctions and riot guns, has seemed to desire the contentment of workingmen with the present conditions of industrial slavery. The middle class also preaches contentment with the competitive wage system to the working class, but desires to enlist its discontent to repress that outgrowth of competitive capitalism, the trust.

From neither of these classes can any solution of the labor question come. Both stand for capitalism and the continued subjection of labor to capital. The working class, alone, offers a remedy. Its alignment marks the class struggle which the private ownership of the means of production and distribution brings upon society.

The capitalist regime divides society into two classes, necessarily antagonistic: One which is enabled to enjoy property without work; the other, forced to give up a portion of its product to the possessing class. The working class, alone, by the exertion of labor power, manual or mental, produces all wealth. The capitalist class,

by force of legal extortion, takes the greater portion of that wealth from its rightful owners. Through the ownership of the means of production and exchange this class compels the vast majority to contribute to its support; to be robbed or to be starved. This is our law, capitalistic law. The division of labor and the mechanical genius of mankind have knit society into a closely related whole. To-day, in truth, "wealth is the creature of society." Yet their control of the political system enables a mere handful to direct this social wealth into their private pockets. What is the plain remedy? The working class is in the majority. Organized as a distinct class party, it can free itself from the slavery of the system of wage labor by striking at its cause, the system of property. At the polls it can take possession of the political power. Only through the organization of property on a collective basis, administered collectively in the interests of the whole people, can society escape from the abuses of the present system. Capitalism affords the material element for the change. Economic despotism can become economic freedom by legal recognition of the industrial revolution which capitalism has brought about. When each could hold the hand tools necessary for production, each was free to produce and all were useful members of society. The advent of the machine revolutionized the character of production. Hand labor was displaced and each was no longer free to produce, for all were not able to own the improved means of production. Competition among

the dispossessed gave proprietors an advantage which rendered them masters of the situation and enabled them to withdraw from the producing class. Society thus became split into contending classes; the producing class, or proletariat, forced to dispose of its labor power in the open market under conditions of competition created by the continuous displacement of labor: on the other side, the useless capitalist class, the bourgeois, small in number, but great in power through ownership of the means by which the proletariat could exert its labor power in order to produce the necessities of life. By this process individual property is eliminated more and more, while the continued concentration of capital gives the actual form of collective ownership.

The organization of production in the modern "trust" gives us an almost perfect tool for social production. Recognition of the social character of these gigantic forces is the only preliminary necessary to their adjustment to procure a system of distribution which will subserve individual ends for the benefit and not at the expense of society. The emancipation of the working class as the government of the great majority means the regeneration of all society. The progress of civilization has followed upon their recognition of the social value of economic organization. The working class has perceived the revolution in the material basis of present society brought about through collective production, since its propertyless condition renders it sensitive to in-

dustrial changes. Its demand for collective ownership marks the line of progress. The cause of the working class is one with the course of evolution. The principles of the Declaration and the Preamble of the Constitution have been rendered mockeries by industrial changes. "The right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," as the birthright of all, without economic equality, is an empty phrase. And these documents, which, back of and more fundamental than constitution or statute, declare the objects which justify our existence as a nation, have their significance obscured and lost. No equality of opportunity exists under that oft-boasted "freedom of contract" which gives choice between starvation or, in the more fortunate instances, reduced the standard of living and the dictates of masters.

WHAT IS LABOR'S SHARE?

Governmental statistics show that it is constantly growing smaller. "The question of 'What is labor's share in production?' is one that is of greatest importance to the working class, the analysis of which will reveal the fact that the working class is forced to a recognition of the bare fact that labor's share is becoming less each year," says the Carriage and Wagon Workers' Journal. A comparative study of the statistics of this country will show how great labor's share in the profit has been and what it is now. Although the amount of wealth is constantly increasing, as will be seen from the following, taken from statistics compiled by the government, it will also be seen how rapidly labor's share is decreasing: In 1850 the wealth of the nation was \$8,000,000,000. The producers' share was $62\frac{1}{2}$ per cent; non-producers' share, $37\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In 1860 the wealth increased to \$16,000,000,000. The producers' share fell to $43\frac{3}{4}$ per cent; non-producers' share increased to $56\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. In 1870 the wealth was \$30,150,000,000; the producers' share was 33 2-3 per cent; non-producers' share was ~~67~~ 1-3 per cent. In 1880 the wealth increased to \$48,000,000,000. The producers' share went down to 24 per cent, while the non-producers' increased to 76 per cent. In 1890 the wealth was further increased to \$61,000,000,000, and the producers' share fell to 17 per cent, and the non-producers' increased to 83

per cent. The greater the amount of wealth production increased, the greater the corresponding decrease of the producers' share in that wealth.

In the early days of these statistics production was chiefly carried on by hand labor; the factories and mills that are now so numerous were then but few. With the rapid progress of the introduction of machinery and inventions in the productive industries, the power of these increased twofold, tenfold, yes, twentyfold according to the state of perfection of the improved machine. With this increased productivity came also the army of the unemployed; at first but few in number, but constantly increasing as the machine became more perfect until the army of the unemployed was estimated at anywhere from three to four million. With the gigantic strides which the concentration of capital is now making, one may ask himself, "What will be labor's share when the census of 1900 is taken?" At any rate it can be asserted without fear of contradiction that labor's share will have still further decreased. The trust question is pressing more and more to the front. The power of competition is dwindling fast away; now only remains a small fraction of the entire productive industry untrusting. While the trusts and the trust papers are singing the joys of prosperity, the working class is feeling its condition more keenly than ever.

Their share in all this is but a job at pauper wages. It is certain that the workers will come to understand their true position. The organized

workers even now, to some extent, realize that the struggle, on the economic field, must be supplemented by political action. The stronghold of capitalism at its present time is its economic power; its weakest, and growing ever weaker, because of the continued crushing out the small capitalist, forcing him into the ranks of the working class, is the ballot. Here they are outnumbered, and here it is where the workers can gain an easy victory and here a victory gained will but add strength for the economic battle. Effort in this direction, along clear-cut, uncompromising, class-conscious lines, will increase labor's share in the product. While it is true in certain trades, even now, wages have been raised, yet when the increased productivity, through more perfect machines and through the concentration of capital, is taken into consideration, it will be seen that when the next balancing-up takes place that labor's share, on the whole, has decreased. Organization is essential; more so than ever. The fact cannot be too strongly emphasized, but it also is a fact that every tactical point through which it is possible to increase labor's share should and must be taken advantage of in the outward march for labor's emancipation.

Yes, dear workingman, keep out of politics; you should know nothing about the manipulation of government. Leave this to the sharp-headed politicians. They will show you that capital is greater than God Almighty; that it has the alienable right to goad you into desperation, and if you dare to resent its dictates, no matter

how diabolical such may be, how easily it can have you punctured with bayonets and cold lead. Sure, workingman, keep out of politics, and suppose yourself to be dead.

Socialists are often reproached because they refuse to unite with reformers in progressive measures, and thus advance step by step. They are accused of wanting "the whole hog or none." Let us plead guilty; we do want the whole hog. But this is not so much a matter of choice with us; it springs rather from a clear perception of the fact that no matter what we might be satisfied with, we shall get either the "whole hog" or nothing at all. No other course is open to us. There are no halfway measures and there is no such thing as improving the condition of the laboring class under the present system, except in a very superficial sense, altogether different from what reformers, so termed, try to make us believe. This can be shown in a few words." A house divided against itself cannot stand." The government cannot endure permanently "half slave and half free." This declaration of Abraham Lincoln's in the opening speech of his historical debate with Stephen A. Douglas was the keynote, the "paramount" issue that united the scattered forces of the opposition to the apparently invincible Democracy for the succeeding Presidential campaign of 1861; that is, unite the aggressive men who fought for principle and the rights of man. True, the question was appealed to the highest finite power to settle, which half was the whole, and the reward decided that the

nation should exist as a whole, and free. The paramount issue was thus settled after long plans of debate and compromise, but a fearful price was paid for the compromising.

A parallel condition of affairs exists to-day in the nation, and the fiat has gone forth that it cannot exist nine-tenths wage slaves and one-tenth capitalistic masters. The Republican party has descended from its high estate as the champion of liberty, the defender of the down-trodden and oppressed and the champion of the weak, and is now the apologist for the rich, the powerful and unscrupulous. Just so was the Democratic party in 1858, the mouthpiece and defender of the chattel slave power; it scorned and laughed at the apparently hopeless efforts of the men and women of that day to at least stay the foot of the man-hunter, and arrest the hand that yielded the lash. The truth was crushed to earth, and still the cry went up, "How long, O Lord, how long?" Abraham Lincoln then appeared as a national figure, and, thundering forth the declaration that heads this article, forced the campaign of conservative democracy into such positions, and such utterances, that the ultra-proslavery States could not accept Douglas as their standard bearer in '61. The Democracy divided and went down to defeat before the army of earnest men and women fighting under the banner of equal rights of all before the law.

BENEVOLENT PHILANTHROPISTS.

Now and then you may read in the public press

that this or that "philanthropist" has given a few thousand, or perhaps a few hundred thousand, dollars to some university, library or church. Then follows a long detailed history of the "generous" donor and an enumeration of his gifts to the community. You may also read that the "better class" are trying to elevate the workingman and improve his rude and coarse manners, in order that he may remain content with the conditions which enable them to pose as his benefactors. And what is expected from you workingmen in return? You are expected to show your appreciation of their "goodness" and charitable kindness by humbly and thankfully accepting what they have seen fit to give you. You workingmen, you, the producers of all wealth, you should assume a humble and reverential attitude toward those who have never done one stroke of productive work in their lives, and whose only task is that of appropriating to themselves four-fifths of what you produce, when they apparently return a small portion of that plunder for your alleged benefit.

These sums which you read of as being donated to schools, libraries and churches are given for what purpose? To benefit you? Not at all. Your children merely go to these schools to fit themselves to become still more efficient wage slaves for their philanthropic masters, who never give up control of these schools or what is taught there. You go to the churches to hear a servant of the same class tell you that you must not only be content with present conditions, but also thank

the Lord for sending you such charitable and kind-hearted benefactors. In the libraries you may read the literature provided by the forethought of your masters, which assumes that the present system is permanent, and which, under the pretext of "thrift, enterprise, determination," etc., urges you on to give your utmost energy in assisting to accumulate profit for them, while holding out a hope, destined to prove false in the vast majority of cases, that you may one day become an owner of wage slaves yourself. I am not able to discuss that subject very largely because my education in that direction is very limited, and indeed my education in general is a very limited one, because my time since my boyhood was mostly occupied in struggling for a living, working hard when I had a job and working hard to get a job when out of one. But from personal experience and observation I have learned that those who survive are usually the slickest; and it is therefore my firm opinion that in the present struggle of capital against labor, the slickest will survive.

EXPERIENCE TEACHES.

Experience teaches that the lessons which the workers in many cities of the United States are receiving during the epidemic of strikes and lock-outs are an educational force whose future guidance for those concerned cannot be underestimated. That the dominating factor in present society is the material interests of the capitalist class is receiving distinct corroboration every day

in the sweeping court injunctions against the rebellious workingmen, the shotguns in the hands of the police force, the unmasking of the alleged "friends of labor," and is confirmed by the imperious necessity of maintaining the interests of the capitalist at all hazards, by the injudicious declarations of members of the ruling class, who proclaim their intentions "to starve the workingmen out," to smash their organizations, and deprive them of the possibility of uniting their strength by insisting upon dealing with them as individuals or unconnected trade groups. All this will bring home to many of the workers the irresistible logic of the Socialist.

The actions and declarations of the capitalist class at present are the material proofs of the correctness of the Socialist position, and these proofs cannot fail to become a powerful aid in helping the working class to grope their way out of the political darkness in which their masters seek to keep them, into the full light of Socialism. Every act of the ruling class to preserve their supremacy brings into light the power implied in the possession of the machinery of the government, and helps the workers to see that whatever class wields that power, the victory of that class in the economic field is absolutely assured. And further, the present existing troubles cannot fail to impress upon them the truth that whether the political complexion of the ruling class in any locality where the labor struggle becomes intense be Republican, Democratic or Populist, the powers of the state are invariably used in the

interests of the propertied classes, and against the workers. This truth they will learn, not by theoretical demonstrations but by practical experience; not by the misfortunes of the isolated groups of workers here and there, but in the universal and loudly proclaimed intentions of their exploiters to use at all times and at all places the power which the possession of government gives them to resist the demands for better living conditions on the part of the producers.

The fact of the class struggle, which at present is showing its reality with distinctness in numerous cities throughout the country, and which the ruling class try to conceal by announcing that their side of the conflict stands for the preservation of "law and order," cannot fail of recognition by a large number of workingmen who, taught by bitter experience the folly of arming the enemy with weapons which make his victory secure and their own defeat certain, will inevitably be drawn into the Socialist movement, which alone stands for the political and economic supremacy of the working class.

The privations and the misery which have been the lot of many thousands of the workers in the conflicts at present raging will not have been suffered in vain, if from them there results a class-consciousness which will express itself in a vote so large that in it the upholders of the present system of capitalist robbery may see the hand-writing on the wall, which indicates the end of their class supremacy and the coming of an economic era in which the securing of the full

product to the producer will put an end forever to economic classes and the struggles which spring from them. And that this forecast will most probably be realized, we see little reason to doubt.

In the following, taken from the Chicago Record, it will be interesting to see what measures the unions will be able to take in order to counteract its effect: It is said that the steamship companies have sent copies of Chicago wage-rate cards, which were posted in the street cars and elevated trains, to all parts of Europe where the vessels touch, and have caused them to be displayed where mechanics live. W. S. Behel said: "The arrival of the next three or four steamers will cause some people to open their eyes," and another contractor chimed in, "Yes, and the men who come cannot be turned back if they have five dollars in their pockets." There is good business in all of this for transportation companies. The capitalist classes will search every nook and corner of the earth for cheap labor, and if this latest move upon their part will only justify the triumphant remark of Mr. Behel, that "some people will have cause to open their eyes" over this matter, it will be a lesson in Socialism to the workingmen that will bear good results in the future. The "men cannot be turned back if they have five dollars in their pockets." Union men may rest assured that they cannot be turned back even if they have only five cents in their pockets. When capitalism is on the hunt

for cheap labor, a little thing like that will not be allowed to stand in the way of their securing it.

The immigration laws are not made in the interest of the working class, but in that of their masters, and the enforcement of such laws is also in the hands of the latter.

It is theirs to loose and to bind, to receive or reject as their interest dictates, and they are now about to give the working class another additional proof of the results of folly at the ballot box. We contend that while the means of production are owned and controlled by private individuals that strife between labor and capital will not cease, cannot cease, because each is simply striving for what is considered its own welfare; that millionaires will multiply slowly and paupers rapidly; that wealth must continue to accumulate in a few hands, robbing labor of its just reward; that poverty and its legitimate offspring, crime, suicide and insanity, will ever increase; that labor will be more and more the slave of capitalists; that corruption in high places will grow more and more brazen-faced and fearless; that government will be utterly subservient to the power of wealth; that the masses will be reduced to a condition worse than chattel slavery, a condition in which the word liberty is but a mockery; that the right of franchise will be subverted by the dictation of trust magnates, as is obvious from all present tendencies; that a government for the people and by the people is impossible.

It is this private ownership that amasses mil-

lions in a few hands, that robs labor of the fruits of its toil, that gives the capitalist class the power to dictate, to legislatures, to executives and to courts; and the exercise of this power is the source of the evils above enumerated. "Millions are the source of all evil" and millions come from private ownership of the means of production. Hence, we strike at the root of the evil, at the cause, and not at the effect, and demand that their private ownership, this "trust socialism," must be abolished, and that the means of production be owned and operated by and for the whole people, and not by and for the millionaire.

RAILROAD EXPERIMENTS.

The Boston and Maine Railroad has been making a series of experiments with a device known as a trimming car, and which bids fair to largely do away with the class of railroad laborers who use the pick and shovel. The trimming car has successfully done the work of four hundred men and did it so neatly and thoroughly as to give promise of greatly reducing the cost of railroad construction. In a recent test of the trimming car a thirty-mile section of the roadbed was trimmed in four days at a cost of \$75 a mile. To have done the work by hand would have required 375 men and an expenditure of \$2,025 per day. When this new machine comes into general use on all the roads it will throw a few railroad hands out of employment, and the majority of them will swear at the machine while tramping the streets looking for some other job. Very likely some

of their own rank invented the machine, and he will probably get a job running it for a while; but of the surplus wealth produced by the saving of expenses he will not receive a cent. That will all go to the owner of the machine.

Here is, then, another illustration of the truth preached by the Socialists, namely, that the welfare of the working class depends on the ownership of the tools of production and distribution. So long as these remain in private hands, they tend simply to throw more laborers out of employment, and produce more wealth for the capitalist class; while if they were owned and operated by the laborers as common property, they would be the means to lighten their labor and increase their comforts. This is such a simple proposition that it seems that even a blind person could see it. But do the majority of the workingmen see it? If they did they would not be such fools as to vote as they do. They know something is wrong, but they do not know what it is, and instead of voting themselves and their class into power, they curse their luck, and go on a strike only to lose it. Then when election comes around they vote to keep their masters in power and to keep themselves in slavery.

MACHINE VS. MAN.

It is no consolation to be told that improved machinery makes more work, even if true. A Chicago paper recently contained a full-page article with the title, "Employment for Labor Increased by Labor-Saving Devices." In it the old

arguments were all rehearsed to show that the improved methods of production displaced no one. As these have been disposed of over and over again by Socialists, it seems useless to dwell upon them now. But the curious thing about it is that it is always taken for granted, both by laborers and capitalists, that if it were true everything would be all right.

It is only a part of the careful training which capitalism has given to the mind of the laborer to make him easy to rule, that he is taught to believe that in and of itself "employment" is the thing most to be desired. If his toil has not been lightened, if his masters can still find a place to make profit out of his exertion, he never stops to think that there can be anything wrong. At this point the wage slave is the greatest fool of all the slaves who have lived. No negro would have accepted a sufficient excuse for considering the cotton gin a good thing because it kept more chattel slaves busy. No galley slave of ancient Rome would have declared in favor of a machine for ship propulsion on the ground that he could use it more hours than he could the old-fashioned oar. Yet over and over again, in unions as well as in the fashionable clubs for economic discussion, the only question argued concerning the effect of the machine upon the laborers is the one as to whether it displaces labor. If this point is decided in the negative, then the laborer is supposed to have no reason for complaint. Of course this is only an illustration of the old, old story of the class struggle and the two methods of looking

at a thing. When industry is looked at from a capitalist point of view, the great good to be secured is to keep the wage slave employed. It is through their work that the capitalist lives. Hence, their work is a good thing in itself. But how about the laborers? Is not the thing which he really desires, leisure, not work; rest, not toil; recreation, not labor? He does not want more hours to exert his strength, he wants more time to enjoy himself.

How idiotic it is, then, for him to accept as a justification for the introduction of the machine that it does not throw anybody out of work. Why, that is just what it should do. Every time a machine is made somebody ought to have more leisure. Every invention should lighten the burdens resting upon the shoulders of the workers. Every improvement in production should mean shorter hours of toil, a longer childhood, earlier retirement from work, better opportunities for culture, education and refinement. It ought to mean fewer women in the workshop, more comforts in the home. It should be the means of abolishing some particularly obnoxious form of labor or of creating new enjoyments for the workers. From this point of view, then, let us look at the above article.

No manufacture offers a more striking illustration of the apparent displacement of man by machine than the textile industry. With the power loom the weaver now weaves one hundred and eighty picks in a minute, while with the old hand loom he could weave but sixty. When the power

loom was first introduced one weaver was required for each loom, but recent improvements have made it possible for one operator to attend to ten looms. That is to say, that each loom does three times as much and each man attends to ten times as many looms, so that each worker produces thirty times as much cloth as with the old hand loom. Now before this machine was introduced people did not go naked. Indeed, the laborers were clothed in strong, warm home spun that kept the cold out as well as the more fashionable ready-mades of to-day. So there is no reason why all should not be thirty times better clothed than then, or else they should now work only twenty minutes a day where they worked ten hours before. Now neither of these things have taken place.

On the contrary the women and children have been forced into the mills instead of the man, and more laborers with their families suffer for clothing than perhaps ever before in the history of the world. The Socialist points out that the reason for this is that the machine is the property of the capitalist class which takes from the worker all that he produces above his cost of living and hence reaps all the benefits of the improved method of production. But let us go on with the improvement described in the article referred to. "The ring frame improvements in the spinning process have displaced that line of labor to such an extent that but one-third the number of operators formerly required is now necessary. With the single spindle hand wheel one spinner could

spin five skeins of No. 32 twist in fifty-six hours. The modern mule spinning machine, containing 2,124 spindles, produces with the assistance of one operator and two small girls, 55,098 skeins of the same thread in the same time. "With the old loom one weaver could weave forty-two yards of coarse cotton cloth in a week—now a single operator can turn out three thousands yards of the same product in the same time. The Commissioner of Labor computes that in the manufacture of cotton goods alone, improved machinery has reduced muscular labor fifty per cent in the production of the same quality of goods." Will any one say that the laborers have reaped the full benefit of these wonderful improvements, if they are still kept busy all the time at the same rate, or even a trifle more than they were before the inventions were made. Yet that is what capitalism proposes, and those who vote for capitalist parties agree that it is correct. The Socialist declares that these inventions should belong to the workers who made them and are using them, and that they, and they alone, should reap the full benefit of the powers of production. He declares that when a laborer finds a way to produce ten times as much with the same amount of labor, the toil of the world should be decreased and the comforts increased. He insists that it is not work, but results, that he is after, and hence he wishes to secure and utilize all the powers of production and distribution in the interest of all producers.

THE WORKERS' TEN COMMANDMENTS.

I.

Thou shalt join a union of thy craft and help to pass laws for thine own special benefit, and not for a few obstinate and perverted leaders.

II.

The meetings thereof thou shalt attend, and pay thy dues with regularity. Thou shalt not attribute unholy purposes to thy brother in union. Beware of the fact that though thou be honest, "there are others."

III.

Thou shalt not take thy neighbor's job. Thou shalt not labor more than eight hours for one day's work, nor on the Sabbath, nor on any of the holy days (holidays).

V.

Thou shalt not hire out thy offspring of tender years. "Poverty and shame shall be to him that refuseth instruction to his children."

VI.

Thou hast but one interest and it is the interest of thy brother.

VII.

Thou shalt not live in a hovel, nor feed on the husk that the swine doth eat. Take thou not alms from the unrighteous, lest it bemean thee.

VIII.

Honor the female sex, for on this rock rests the future welfare of man.

IX.

Waste not thy life in the chase after the ethereal, lest thy substance be filched from thee. "The Lord helps those who help themselves." Thou helpest thyself best by helping thy brother workers in the union of labor.

X.

Thy brother's welfare is thy concern ; therefore shalt thou have care for him and his. Associate thyself with thy brother worker, that thy pay may be heightened, thy hours of labor shortened, and the days of thy life and the lives of all may be lengthened and brightened. "Those who wait for leaders will always be misled." "Freedom with perils is safer than tyranny with its assurances."

ORGANIZATION THE FIRST EXPRESSION OF INTELLIGENCE.

Workingmen are not always right in what they attempt, but organization is the first expression of their intelligence. Organized labor is the promoter of public peace and happiness, for it is a fact that where labor organizations are strongest, there strikes are most infrequent. With the great aggregation of capital on the one hand, what hope would there be for the people were it not for the balancing influences of the labor organizations? What hope is there for the welfare of the republic in the action of the Astors, the Vanderbilts and the Rockefellers? If they would pay thousands to marry their daughters to a title, what would they give to possess a title themselves? "It has and always will be the mission of the poor to preserve the republican form of government." The labor question is one of the most important confronting the world. It is being discussed by the pulpit, the press and the diplomat. Political parties vie with each other in adopting labor planks, whether they expect to carry them or not. Organization is seen on every hand. There are boards of trade exchanges, the builders' exchange, bankers' associations and railroaders' associations. Even the doctors have their association and feel badly toward a member who does not live up to the tenets of the society. The lawyers have a union, although they call it a bar. "The judge of the court is the walking dele-

gate of the union, and he is quick to call for the working card of a man who attempts to practice law in his court without a diploma, as they call their working card." Unions are found only in civilized countries. They do not have them in China or India.

The strike is the weapon of defense of the labor organization. While we do not encourage strikes, workingmen would be foolish to give up that strong weapon. If the labor unions should declare against strikes the capitalist would soon be doing all the striking for us. Labor wants more. It is entitled to more and will get more of the products of its toil. It is a crime against the citizenship of the future to make men and women work more than eight hours per day.

We want the children taken out of the workshops and factories and educated. It may be new to some of you, but it is a fact that when Congress passed the bill annexing the Sandwich Islands and the Island of Hawaii, slavery existed in those islands, and it was only by the untiring efforts of the committee on legislation of the American Federation of Labor that a resolution was finally passed abolishing slavery in the islands. It is the prayer of the labor unionist that the flag shall never wave over any but a free people. We ask no favors, simply our rights, and it is our rights we are going to have."

To a workingman it is a puzzling fact that the question is never asked, "Why should a physician join a medical society?" "Why should a lawyer affiliate himself with the bar association?" "What

induces a business man to pay initiation fees and dues into a chamber of commerce?" These people join the society of their business or profession for the standing it gives them, for the advantage of exchange of ideas and community of effort along well-defined lines; and that the common standard of excellence is raised thereby, and the individuals benefited is never questioned. In practice, the objects of the Trade Unions are identical with those of the association mentioned, and many others, and the inducement for a professional or business man to join an organization of the character indicated is many times intensified in the case of the workingman. In the keen competition of the business world expenses of production must be kept at the minimum by the employer who would maintain his position.

Labor receives no more consideration than it is in a position to demand and enforce. This is not the fault of the individual, but of the system, and many times employers are forced against their inclinations by competition to give the screws on labor one more turn in preference to yielding the field of trade to less honorable competitors. The hostility of some employers to members of trade organizations rests solely on the ground that union workmen demand what they consider just wages, while the average non-union employe takes what he can get. The one gets his rights through organization, the other suffers through the weakness of individual effort, and the weakness of the latter is the unjust employer's opportunity. Unaided by the co-opera-

tion of his fellows the individual laborer would be reduced to a pitiable state by the constant encroachment of capital in the hands of the capitalist. United for a common object, the workmen become an effective force; effective in direct ratio to the thoroughness of their organization.

United, they are in a position to arbitrate the question of a just division of the profits of their toil supplemented and directed by the capital of the employer. One single man, standing out from his fellows, unaffiliated with the union of his craft, sullenly accepting its benefits, or bawling of his "freedom from the tyranny of the trades unions," is a breach in the citadel, and every such man but forges the chains to bind himself and his fellows to conditions of serfdom. That labor unions uniformly secure better wages, shorter hours of labor, improved conditions and better treatment for all men engaged in the trade or calling within the spheres of its influence needs no demonstration. No man worthy of the name would enjoy these advantages without willingly joining with that union and aiding in shaping its policy and assisting in defraying the necessary expenses of its maintenance in the highest condition of efficiency. And yet there are individuals who not only do that very thing, but abuse the unions that help to feed them, vilify the leaders and seek favor in the eyes of the employer by claiming their superior subserviency to the bosses' wishes. Trades unions make for a higher class of workmanship. The most skilled artisans of all trades are to be found in their ranks, and great

care is used in securing new members, to the end that the standard of excellence is not lowered by the admission of incompetent men. A union card is an excellent guarantee of skill. If the unions could only exercise their powers more fully than they are allowed to do in nearly all of the trades, the apprentice system would be something more than is usually the case; system in theory only. The employer seeks only to produce goods at a low cost. He cares nothing about the instruction of the apprentices. Trades unions care for their sick and needy. Many hundred thousands of dollars are poured from their treasuries annually for charity, and of this the general public never hears a word. It is done silently, sympathetically and promptly. They bury the dead and comfort and aid the widows and orphans.

There is no proclaiming from the housetops. They educate their members on economic lines and without entering partisan politics, teach the workingmen the true significance of the ballot and the most effective method for its use. All social and political reforms of importance spring from and are disseminated through trades union agencies. They are a safety valve for the natural discontent engendered by the fierce competitive system. In European countries, where Labor Unions are suppressed and restricted, red anarchy rears its ugly head. In this country, of comparative freedom, no danger threatens. The wasteful competitive system of the present is not the system of a higher civilization toward which the world is striving. Co-operation in some form

—community of effort—must take its place, and when the inevitable change comes, the ground for it will be paved and the first steps taken by the Labor Unions.

The thinking, disciplined, coherent mass of workingmen, embraced in Labor Unions, are the men who will give the movement the first grand impetus. A workingman should join a labor union for his own material and moral good and for the benefit of mankind. Not one valid reason can with candor be urged against it. He owes his allegiance to the union of his craft, in justice to himself, to his fellow-men, to his family and to posterity.

THE UNION LABEL—ITS USE AND SIGNIFICANCE.

What the Union label stands for, and why it should be generally supported, are well summed up by J. N. Bogart, an organizer of the American Federation of Labor, and Labor Editor of the New York Evening Journal, in an article which won the prize offered by the Social Reform Club of New York for the best essay on Union label. His reasons were: "Because it supersedes the strikes, the lockout, and the destructive boycotts; it is the outward manifestation of harmony between the employer and workman, binding both by ties to maintain their friendly relations and the continued approval and patronage of a discriminating public. Because it condemns child labor and humanizes factory life. Because it minimizes convict competition with free and honest labor. Because it wipes out tenement and

sweat-shop systems of production. Because it has ferreted out, exposed and cleaned the unwholesome cellar bakery. Because it shortens the work-day and gives toilers time to read and think and cultivate the social side of life. Because it guarantees a living wage and rational conditions of employment. Because it stands for quality and honest workmanship. Because it is not a weapon for industrial war, but an olive branch held out to bind the brotherhood of man."

ATTACKS THE UNION.

Washington, June 12, 1900.

N. F. Thompson, secretary of the Southern Industrial Convention, at Huntsville, Ala., made a somewhat sensational attack upon Labor Unions before the Industrial Commission to-day. "Labor Organizations," said Mr. Thompson, "are the greatest menace to this government that exists inside or outside the pale of our national domain. Their influence for disruption and disorganization of society is far more dangerous to the perpetuation of our government in its purity and power than would be the hostile array on our borders of the armies of the entire world combined." Mr. Thompson declared that he made this statement from years of close study and a field of the widest opportunities for observation, embracing the principal industrial centers both of the North and South. In support of his statement he said that "on every hand, and for the slightest provocation, all classes of organized labor stand ready to inaugurate a strike with all

its attendant evils, and that in addition to this, stronger ties of consolidation are being urged over the country among Labor Unions, with the view of being able to inaugurate a sympathetic strike that will embrace all classes of labor simply to redress the grievances or right the wrongs of one class, however remotely located or however unjust may be the demands of that class." He asserted that organizations teaching such theories should be held as treasonable in their character and their leaders worse than traitors to their country.

Mr. Thompson also said that many labor leaders are open and avowed Socialists; that their organizations are weakening the ties of citizenship among thousands of our people, in that they have no other standard of community obligations than that these organizations inculcate; that they are scattering widespread disregard for the rights of others; that they are destroying respect for law and authority among the working classes; that they are educating the laboring classes against the employing classes, thus creating antagonisms between those whose mutuality of interests should be fostered and encouraged by every friend of good government; that they are destroying the right of individual contract between employes and employers and forcing upon employers men at arbitrary wages; and that they are bringing public reproach upon the judicial tribunals of our country, by public abuse of these tribunals, and often open defiance of their decrees, thereby seeking to break down the only

safeguards of a free people. "The remedy for the evils, he said, lie principally in a correct public sentiment touching the relations that should exist between labor and capital." He suggests a law. "A law, he added, should be enacted that would make it justifiable homicide for any killing that occurred in defense of any unlawful occupation, the theory of our government being that any one has a right to earn an honest living in this country, and any endeavor to deprive one of that right should be placed in the same legal status with deprivation of life and property."

He said that a strike and boycott should be made a felony, both by national and state legislation. Then he suggested the formation of state and national Boards of Arbitration, authorized and empowered to settle all matters of difference between labor and capital, and whose decrees should be binding on the parties affected.

Mr. Thompson expressed the opinion that public sentiment in the South would justify the shooting of union men who interfered with non-union men at work. He said that the South was holding out as an inducement to the manufacturers of textiles that if they came South they would be free from labor strikes. "There is," he said, "a movement on foot to put it beyond the power of labor unions, by means of compulsory arbitration to disturb industrial conditions."

INDIA'S DARK PICTURE.

As many people in India to-day as the whole population of the United States are lying at death's door for want of food. They are and have been for some time dying of starvation at the rate of 50,000 per day. To the horrors of famine are now added the terrors of cholera and smallpox. The atmosphere in parts of the country is thick with the fumes of the dead. Great corps of men are kept busy burning the swollen and distorted corpses. The civilized countries of the world are sending subscriptions. "Do not send grain; we have plenty of that. What we need is money to buy with," is the cry from the suffering. The British government does nothing in the matter, for, as stated by an eminent British statesman, "English governmental action might discourage individual donations in foreign lands."

There is absolutely no hope of voluntary subscriptions reaching a fraction of the figure necessary to prevent the death of millions of human beings. Unparalleled in history is this tale of wrong and woe. No government pretending to civilization ever before let its subjects starve when food was plenty. The greatest infamy was left to be perpetrated by the English in India. No record of man has chronicled another example of the richest nation in the world denuding a country of its wealth and leaving the victims to die in ditch and field or be relieved by private sub-

scription in foreign lands. A part of the money extorted from the poor Indian ryots and invested in irrigating the country would insure plenty in almost every part of the land, and the total crops would, under any arrangement but wholesale exploitation, secure to every person comfort and plenty. It is a dark picture of robbery and neglect. It is wholesale murder for the financial benefit of the British capitalist. It is the program of the Christian capitalist wherever in power.

PROFIT REGARDLESS OF RESULTS.

Advices from Vladivostock are to the effect that there is great distress in the Russian Amur maritime provinces. The events in China have made labor scarce, the harvest largely failed, floods were very destructive, and the railroad was monopolized by troops, thus preventing the importation of supplies. Consequently the prices of bare necessities are beyond the people's means. Even government officials have been obliged to appeal to the central administration for relief. It is feared that a famine is imminent. The *Globe* yesterday afternoon published a letter from a Belgian gentleman, who has been traveling to Peking via the Trans-Siberian Railroad. He describes under date of September 6, 1900, what he saw in the Amur river. His account surpasses in horror those previously published. He says, "The scenes I have witnessed during the three days since my steamer left Blagovetchenck are horrible beyond description. Two thousand were deliberately drowned at Moroo, two thousand at

Rubes and two thousand around Blagovetchenck, making a total of six thousand corpses encumbering the river, among which were thousands of women and children. Navigation was all but impossible. Last week a boat had to plow her way through a tangled and mangled mass of corpses lashed together by their long hair. The banks were literally covered with corpses. In the curves of the stream were dark, putrid smelling masses of human flesh and bone, surging and swaying in the steamer's wake and wash. The sight and smell will ever be with us. From Blagovetchenck to Aigun, forty-five kilometers, numerous villages lined the banks, with a thriving, industrious population of over one hundred thousand. That of Aigun was twenty thousand. No one will ever know the number of those who perished by shot, sword and stream. Not a village is left. The silence of death was around us, the ruins of Aigun on the right, with broken down and crumbling walls and shattered, roofless houses."

So, Friend, you see that I am not exaggerating when I say that anarchy reigns supreme at the four quarters of the globe to-day.

A SOLDIER'S PEN PICTURE OF LIFE IN THE PHILIPPINES.

New Haven, Conn., Dec. 13, 1900.

Thos. F. McGovern, now a member of Company "G," Seventeenth Infantry, United States Army, stationed in the Philippines, has just written to an old friend in this city some unique im-

pressions of Uncle Sam's new possessions in the far east. In a letter written at Garmalling, Private McGovern says: "The Philippines are a bunch of trouble gathered on the western horizon of civilization. They are bounded on the north by rocks and destruction, on the south by cannibals and earthquakes, on the east by typhoons and on the west by hoodooism and smuggling. The climate is a deceptive combination of changes well adapted to raising Cain. The soil is very fertile and large crops of insurgents and treachery are produced. The inhabitants are very industrious. Their chief occupation is in building trenches and making bolos.

Their houses are made chiefly of bamboo and landscape. The Filipino marriage ceremonies are very impressive, especially the cases where the wife is given the privilege of working as much as her husband desires. The Filipino's principal diet is rice, stewed rice and fried rice. Manila is one capital city. It is situated on Manila Bay, a large land-locked body full of sharks and Spanish submarine boats, for which Dewey is responsible. Cavite, the next city of importance, is noted for being no good as a naval station and for a large number of saloons and Chinamen.

The principal exports of the island are rice, hemp and war bulletins. The imports are American soldiers, arms and ammunition. Malarial fever is so prevalent that on numerous occasions the islands have been shaken with a chill. Communication has been established between the numerous islands by substituting the mosquito

for the carrier pigeon, the mosquito being larger and better. The Filipinos are friends at the point of our guns.

The climate is pleasant and healthful for mosquitoes, bugs, snakes, tarantulas, roaches, scorpions, centipedes and alligators.

The soil is adapted for raising foul odors and breeding diseases.

In other words, New Haven will be just exactly good enough for me as soon as I can get back to it, after leaving the army."

It is useless to comment upon the wars of strife that exist right here at our doors; the papers are full of it every day. To borrow a Bible quotation, "A house divided against itself cannot stand." I may add that this nation cannot endure half republic and half colony, half free and half vassal, half monarchy and half anarchy.

The people are divided into warring factions. The cause of the division is the right of a few to command the employment and lives of the others.

How long should this country continue with a minority in charge of the means by which all the people live?

How long should this nation endure part robbers and part robbed, with none truly free? Not very long if the signs of the times have anything to do with it. Here is a bulletin, red hot from the wires of London:

January 16, 1901.

At a meeting of the Wolver-Hampton Chamber of Commerce to-day, ex-Prime Minister

Rosebery made a speech in which he dealt in a most serious strain with the industrial and commercial competition by which Great Britain was faced. He declared that the future was dark and gloomy. It was difficult, even unwise, to try to prophesy what it might have in store. He was not alarmed by the constant piling up of the immense and most costly armaments by Europe. They rather tended toward peace than otherwise. The war he feared was not military. It was that great war of trade which was inevitably coming and which, so far as he could see, would be one of the greatest and most serious that Great Britain ever had to cope with (and that is competition, the life of trade). "While not putting other nations out of the category, it was from the United States and Germany that the British had the most to fear. America, with its resources and the acuteness and enterprising spirit of its people, was the most formidable of all competitors. Lord Rosebery remarked upon one striking feature of the American competitor, namely, that the great individual fortunes being made in the United States were not employed as they probably would be in England, to enable their makers to retire and enjoy social and other pleasures, but were invested in great trusts and syndicates to form power for concentrating attacks on British trade."

Now, my lord, what the trusts are doing for England they will also do for every other nation. If you will wait a short while longer they will make us all look like thirty cents, and then put

us on an equal footing and address one another as Mr. So-and-So, and bring about this very much needed reform in an amiable and congenial way.

"CAN'T CHANGE HUMAN NATURE."

The silliest opponents of Socialism are the very good Christians who come up to us with a "you-can't-get-over-this-argument" air and say, "You'll never succeed, for you will never be able to change human nature." This is rich from Christians, whose only work, in which they have already spent a score of centuries, is to try to change human nature; that is, by "coming to Jesus," and being "born again," and "getting a new heart," etc. The infidels. "You can't change human nature," says the shallow thinker. Think not? Well, just give us a chance, and if I do not change it I will change its manifestations; it is the same thing for all practical purposes of Socialism.

Suppose I am lord of the wind and waves, and wreck at sea the ship you are on, and I providentially get fifty or sixty of you safely away in boats and on rafts with plenty of provisions and good hopes of final rescue. You are all ladies and gentlemen then, and behave decently to each other. But suppose I keep you out of hope for a week, two, three, and until your last biscuit is gone, and you are mad with sickness, hunger and thirst. Then with the composition of your blood and other bodily juices altered, you are no longer gentlemen and ladies, but ugly, ill-tempered, wolfish brutes, ready to draw lots for some one to be killed and eaten to save the rest. You have become cannibals. I did not change human na-

ture, did I? No, but you might as well be wolves as human beings acting just like wolves. Anyway, you would be a totally different chemical formulae, and that is quite as good—or bad—as a change of nature. Then if I should send a sail in sight and rescue you, and gradually fill you up with good victuals and warm and nourish you back to health, with the return of your bodily juices to their normal former state you return to decency and gentility, do you not?

Well, then, do you not think that this great community of cannibals and vicious competitors for bread could be properly fed and clothed, and housed, and educated, as big a chemical change could be worked in them as in you, and they would be just as fully redeemed morally?

Depend on it, the rest of the bad and wicked world is as amenable to proper treatment as you are, in spite of your self-conceit. At any rate, having been saved, or never having needed salvation yourself, you might help us Socialists to put the victual cure into practice.

"A FABLE."

Some time ago a wolf went to a bear and said: "I have seen Farmer Jones digging in his field the last couple of days, and I think he is grubbing up a stump." "To my opinion he is planting a tree," said the bear, as they went marching to their feast. "I think he is grubbing up a stump," yelped the wolf. "He is planting a tree," growled the bear. They made so much noise over their love feast that Farmer Jones had ample time to take to his heels and watch the consequences. "How can you be so obstinate," exclaimed the wolf, in a temper. "And how can you be such an ignoramus?" replied the bear, getting raving mad as they neared the brink of the pit. Then Farmer Jones heard a yelp, and a growl, and saw a change in the atmosphere for a few minutes, and then he went to the edge of the brink and exclaimed, "One said it was a stump and the other a tree, but it was neither. It was a pit and both have fallen into it, to meet their death. Argument may enlighten, but obstinacy digs a pitfall for its own feet."

THE RAYS OF SOCIALISM.

Let us first glance at the conditions as the Socialist sees them, so that we may better judge the adequacy of his remedy. 1. We have the concentration of wealth by the few. 2. Admitting that labor creates everything, even capital itself, we find that the creator of wealth gets a very small portion of his product. 3. We see the enormous waste in our present system, the waste in advertising, in innumerable and unnecessary plants, waste in parallel railroads, in useless traveling salesmen; in fact, waste in everything except the large trusts, etc.

4. We see the world filled with plenty, plenty of food, clothes and shelter, and we see the great majority suffering for want of common necessities.

5. We see the class of idle rich enjoying every possible luxury without doing a stroke of work.

6. We see the inevitable trust gradually monopolizing every branch of trade, so that the masses are made dependent upon them for existence.

7. We see great labor-saving devices put in operation everywhere, knowing that every one makes so much less employment for labor.

8. We see the great industries economizing by private co-operation, and thus again making employment more scarce.

9. We see the toiler being gradually pauperized and therefore, in the end, brutalized, losing

all moral and intellectual attributes, a veritable "man without a hoe."

10. We find the deadly competitive strife for individual gain breeding dishonesty, immorality, vice and degradation. "These are the conditions as seen through the glasses of the Socialist and as a panacea for these and a thousand other ills too numerous to mention he asks the government to assume the responsibility of providing employment for all and of supplying the great human family with food, clothes and shelter. He contends that if every man were willing to do his share of useful work, that every man would have to work only about three hours a day in order to furnish the world with everything it now has, and that no man could want for more than his own labor would yield. I believe Benjamin Franklin and a thousand other reliable authorities bear him out in this.

Of course this system would eventually destroy interest and profit, and thus no man could amass a fortune and live in luxury while others were furnishing him the means. When one begins to compute the enormous amount of interest paid every day and then begins to realize that every cent of interest falls eventually upon the shoulders of labor, it is not strange that labor would destroy the usury, for all interest is usury. The Socialist applauds the trusts and claims that they are paving the way for Socialism. The trust is founded on Socialistic principles, and when their immense benefits are applied to all the people instead of the few, as at present, when every

industry is a public trust, then the public, that is, the government, will owe every man an opportunity to earn a living. When the Socialist is asked if his system would not destroy all ambition, all incentive to improvement, by crushing out individual enterprises, he will reply by saying: "If ambition consists in getting rich at the expense of another; if there is no other worthy incentive than to get gold; if there is no other reward for individual enterprise than gold—yes." While I am to some extent an individualist, as well as a collectivist, I do not believe in a system which makes a lot of isolated units all struggling away in different directions after the almighty dollar. I believe in co-operation to get the greatest possible good from Mother Earth for the great human family, with the least possible effort. I believe in union; for in union there is strength. It perhaps does not occur to many that what is one man's gain must be somebody else's loss. There can be no profit without somebody losing just so much, and inasmuch as labor creates all wealth, labor pays all profit, and all profit is labor's loss. Yet the majority of men think that the workingman gets his just deserts. They point to the saloon, to the equal opportunity for all to acquire riches, to the reasonable reward of brains, and to the fact that somebody must do the world's dirty work. This is silly, superficial, ignorant nonsense. The Socialist promises to do away with intemperance, to equitably reward brains and muscle, and to give all equal opportunity.

WHY AMERICAN WORKINGMEN SHOULD BE SOCIAL-
ISTS.

BY H. G. WILSHIRE.

A Socialist is one who desires that the wealth of a nation be owned collectively by all the people, rather than that it should be held by a small fraction of them, commonly known as capitalists. By the "wealth of the nation" is meant the land, the railroads and the telegraphs, the flour mills, the oil refineries; in short, all of those agencies by means of which food, clothing and other commodities that mankind desire are produced. By Socialism we mean collective ownership and management of all wealth-producing industries. For instance, just as some of the industries, such as the common school, the postoffice, etc., are now owned and managed by the people; under Socialism, not only these but all other industries would be owned and managed by the working class, the capitalist class having been abolished. In short, Socialists propose that instead of Morgan and Rockefeller owning the United States and running it for their selfish benefit, we, the people, shall assume possession of it ourselves and run it for our own benefit. This is such a very simple proposition that any one should be able to understand it without an elaborate explanation. That every patriotic American, and especially every workingman, should not be in favor of Socialism is only to be explained by his ignorance of what Socialism really means.

It is certainly a praiseworthy sentiment that

the citizens and inhabitants of a nation should desire to own their own country. It is as natural for him as it is for a man to desire to own his own house, rather than to rent it of a landlord. The motive that inspires a father to provide a home for his family is of the same character, but of a broader nature as the motive that animates the Socialist who desires that all may have a home that they can call their own. We said that every workingman who understood what Socialism meant would certainly be a Socialist, for assuredly, workingmen, your condition in life is not such that you would fear a change. You are poor; you are dissatisfied with your lot in life; you have a sense of being unjustly dealt with by society; you know that your labor alone produces all the good things of life, and you know that some one else enjoys them; you know all these things, and you know, or you should know that as simple a thing as casting your ballot intelligently can produce a change, so that you will receive and enjoy all the fruits of your labor with no necessity of giving the lion's share, or any other share to such blood-sucking parasites as Rockefeller, Astor, Vanderbilt & Co.

It is true that there is some excuse for you not realizing that your shackles are but figments of your own imaginations. You are befooled and humbugged at every source to which you look for knowledge. The newspapers ostensibly devoted to the interests of the workingmen in reality are but tools of their owners, the capitalists. The politicians, notorious liars and knaves, you

scarcely listen to, except to deride. That you are robbed of your earnings through the iniquitous laws of an unjust social system is so plain that it would seem unnecessary to state it, were not so many quack remedies for social ills proposed, the application of which contemplates no change in the fundamental principles of our present competitive system. You may safely regard any political measure that does not at least tend to the abolition of the keystone of modern society, "the wage system," as being unworthy of workingmen's support. Reflect on your miserable condition in life and consider that you, a citizen of the United States, are an inhabitant of a nation possessing natural resources capable of easily supporting over ten times its present population. You are informed by uncontrovertible statistics that by the development of the steam engine and labor-saving machinery the labor of one man can to-day produce commodities, food, clothing, lodging, etc., sufficient to more than comfortably provide for twenty, and yet the fact stares you in the face that the return you get for your labor scarcely keeps you alive. Knowing these things, can you remain contented to live under a social system that at the most gives you in exchange for your labor an existence more miserable than that of a slave, because more insecure, and even makes you considered lucky in getting any employment at all? Do you wonder to whom the surplus produced goes, and why? Let us put the matter more clearly before your eyes. Consider that the ma-

chinery of production—that is, the railroads, the flour mills, the oil and sugar refineries, and even the very land itself—do not belong in common to all the citizens, but to a very small class called capitalists, some of whom are not even citizens and many of whom have never set foot in the country.

Now, to get clothing, food and lodging, both land and machinery must be employed, and if one class own these essentials of production, it is evident that it can demand of the other class that do not own them as much rent as it pleases for the use of them. And what does it please to demand? Answer: Everything that you produce, except a very small part which it allows you to keep, just sufficient for you to sustain your miserable existence. Workingmen, you are in almost exactly the same position as horses in that you can never expect to get any more than just enough to keep you in a condition to be able to work, the only difference being that the employer of the horse feeds him even when he cannot for the time being use his labor, while the employer of you workingmen feed and clothe you only when you are useful to him, and when you are not useful to him, as in dull seasons, he lets you feed yourselves the best way you may, and you can starve as far as he is concerned. He loses money if his horse dies, but he loses nothing if you starve. You ask, Why do not capitalists pay higher wages? Why do they not pay wages sufficient to allow you to properly feed and clothe yourselves, your wives and your chil-

dren? Why do not workingmen successfully demand wages sufficient to enable them to educate their children in the public schools? Why mock them with free schools when they must send their children to the mine and the factory to earn food for the family? The answer is simple and plain. As long as there are millions of unemployed men in the United States only too glad to get a chance to work for wages that will afford them the bare necessities of life, wages cannot rise above that minimum rate. The truth of this statement, and it is most important that every workingman should know its truth, is easily proven. Consider a familiar every-day occurrence in life. A and B each own a coal mine. Each is selling his coal at the lowest price possible in order to undersell the other. The item of labor is the chief one in the expense of mining coal; so, supposing that A pays his men less than B, then he is in the position of being able to undersell B, and unless B is also able to get his labor as cheap as A, he must retire from the field. This shows that the capitalist could not, under our competitive system, pay higher wages, even though they might so wish. Then, on the other hand, consider the laborer, the miner. Suppose he is getting one dollar per day, and some poor fellows out of employment came along, some emigrants, for instance, who, rather than starve, offers to work for seventy-five cents per day, it is then certain that, as the owners of the mines are forced to always buy the cheapest labor that is offered, the one dollar a day laborer must suffer

a reduction on his wages to seventy-five cents, or be replaced by the emigrant who will work for seventy-five cents. Hence we see how it is that the pressure of the unemployed upon the labor market always keeps the price of labor at the lowest notch. And the more labor-saving machinery that is introduced the more men are thrown out of employment and the greater the struggle between laboring men to get hired at any price. Considering how it is even thus under our present wage system that wages must remain low, it is easy to see how absurd it is for Democrats or Republicans to claim that free trade or protection can make wages higher. Workingmen are coming to recognize the fact that there is no reliance to be placed on either of the old parties or any new party that capitalism may wish to fool the workmen with, and that they must organize a party of their own, which will overthrow the wage system entirely.

Workingmen, Americans, the issue is plain. Yours is the choice whether to remain slaves in your own country, fettered by your own hand; to see your wives and your children live in poverty and squalor, aye, and often starve before your very eyes, or whether you will be free men, not in name only but in reality; whether you will own your own country and enjoy the full fruits of your honest labor. Workingmen say: "Ah, well enough. These are fine words, but it is impossible for anything to be done. Workingmen have always been poor and always will remain poor. You Socialists simply make us feel our poverty

more keenly and make us discontented without showing us any practical plan to abolish the causes of our discontent. Of course, we wish to provide more liberally for ourselves and families. Certainly we would prefer sending our children to school rather than to the factory. We know that we are virtually slaves, and we certainly would like to end our wage slavery. What fool would not have his fellowmen own their own country rather than have a band of capitalists own it? But even if the wealth of the nation were divided up, as we suppose you Socialists propose, it would simply be a matter of time before Rockefeller & Co. would have it all again." Workingmen, you are mistaken. Socialists do propose a most practicable and feasible solution of the problem of how to abolish poverty. If you will consider our plan you cannot help but agree that its accomplishment would prevent any fear of Rockefeller & Co. ever getting our country away from us after it is once restored. Socialism means anything but the division of the ownership of the means of production. Socialism, as we said before, contemplates the absolute concentration of the ownership of the wealth of the country into the collective control of the people themselves. The only division of things that Socialists propose is the fair division of commodities produced, but not by any means do they propose the division of the ownership of the machinery that produced those products. For instance, the people will collectively own the land, the grain elevators, the flour mills and the baker-

ies, while the people individually will own the product, the bread. In answer as to the practicability of collective ownership of the means of production, it is best answered by the inspection and consideration of how the machinery of production in the United States is at present managed. Within the last few years the owners of the various great industries of this country, through the inordinate over-extension of their plants and the consequent fierceness of the warfare of competition arising from overproduction, have been compelled to consolidate their interests into monopolies, simply as a matter of sheer necessity, to preserve themselves from threatening bankruptcy.

Having in mind the million of half-naked and half-fed men, women and children, it may seem to many that the excuse of "overproduction" that the trusts give for their existence is the boldest of lies.

But it must be remembered that the owners of the sugar, beef and other trusts are not in business from philanthropic motives, but purely and simply to make money for themselves, so that the mere fact of people wanting or even starving for the want of what their machinery produces does not constitute any sound business reason for capitalists to feed them. Unless hungry people have money, they have no legal right to food. They may be fed by charity, but they have no legal right under our present social system to demand help. So we see that as far as the capitalist is concerned there is an overpro-

duction in goods when he finds no buyers, although there may be plenty who want but have no money to buy. It is quite palpable that in a country as productive as the United States and where wage-workers, the great consuming class, are paid such a small part of what is produced, there must always be a great surplus remaining in the hands of the capitalists unless they avoid such a result by restricting production—and restricting production means shutting down factories—turning out of employment willing workers and starving the nation in the midst of plenty. While we Socialists agree that from the capitalistic standpoint anti-trust laws are absurd, as trusts are a necessary development of our competitive system, yet at the same time we realize that the trusts and monopolies, unless checked in their career by nationalizing them, will throw the people into a slavery worse than that recorded by history. Since monopoly is the future determining factor in production, and competition is forever dethroned, we see each of our great industries controlled by one corporation, headed by one man—a captain of industry—and this state of affairs is what more than anything else demonstrates the practicability of Socialism. Certainly if Jay Gould can successfully manage the telegraphs of the country, there can be no difficulty in us, the people, doing the thing. We already manage the post offices—why not the telegraphs? Again, if Mr. Rockefeller manages the oil business, Mr. Vanderbilt the railways, Mr. Armour the beef business, Mr. Pillsbury the

flour business, Mr. Carnegie the iron business, Mr. Havemeyer the sugar business, Mr. Corbin the coal business, Mr. Dalrymple the bonanza wheat farms and Mr. Astor a great part of the real estate in New York; we say, if these capitalists can manage these properties for their own selfish ends, that we, the people, can just as well manage them for our own use and benefit. All we have to do in order to own our country, is for a majority to vote for the party that is pledged to carry out that idea, and the only party that is so pledged is the Socialist Party. With the success of that party and the change that it would bring about, no one need work over three hours per day, and everyone who wanted to work could find employment, receiving in return the full fruits of labor.

Everyone would have leisure, children would be educated, all would be free, and happiness would reign supreme. American workingmen, we have shown you the road to freedom. When you pursue that path you will be free. Before that, never.

POVERTY AND ITS CURE AS VIEWED FROM THE STANDPOINT OF A SO- CIALIST.

It must by this time have become apparent to all thoughtful people that an adequate remedy for the existing hard times, which in spite of the clamors of prosperity howlers, is felt so acutely throughout the civilized world, must consist of more radical and far-reaching measures than corporation-inspired financial legislation, or the inevitable tariff tinkering. Vast wealth without merit upon the one hand, the complement of undeserved poverty upon the other, is the condition which confronts us to-day. Socialism will positively produce equality of opportunity, not equality of wealth or of any other thing. The classes now in possession of those special privileges which enable them to appropriate the wealth produced by others are desperately opposed to it, knowing that it would give to the masses the product of their toil, while the sacred classes would be obliged to toil for their product. The worker in an extensive factory which has cost many dollars to construct and ship may believe that a large portion of his product should go to the man who has risked his capital in building and equipping it. Under our present industrial system that is right and just. Socialists do not blame the capitalist for requiring a profit for the use and risk of his capital. They blame the stupidity of a people who continue a system

which makes such a thing necessary. Under the rational system private capital would be unnecessary and useless to the public, but would still benefit its possessor without injuring or exacting tribute from any other person,

A little thought will convince one that all wealth is produced by labor applied to natural resources, and that capital never created any wealth. A million dollars could never dig a post hole or plant a tree, much less construct and equip a transcontinental railway line or a great manufacturing plant. Labor can and has done all of this—built the factory, fashioned the raw material from nature's inexhaustible storehouse, made, transported and adjusted all of the equipments of the great factory. As labor, applied to the resources of nature, produced or erected the factory and every article manufactured there, labor should have and own the factory and its entire product in just and equitable proportion. Thus, if the product during one year is worth one million dollars, one man who did one millionth part of the labor is entitled to one dollar, the man who did five hundred millionths of the labor is entitled to five hundred dollars, etc. Any system which takes one cent of that from them is a system of robbery, and every cent taken from them is stolen—not by the owner of the factory, who may be a Christian, and a Socialist, for that matter, but by the system. The man who used and risked his capital would be robbed if he did not receive his profit. True, the system which permits and almost compels him to risk his prop-

erty must recompense him for that risk ; but only a robber system would compel a man to risk the property which he has, in order to acquire more. Competition robs both the employer and his workmen. He and they are each and all the victims.

Co-operation is to competition as mutual service is to envious strife. Socialism is co-operation, mutual assistance, applied in a scientific and practical manner to the production and distribution of wealth. Competition is the strife, contention, building up and tearing down which occurs in the construction of an edifice, where each workman builds his own section with material which he tears from the sections which his fellows have builded. Consider a moment if this be not so. The professional or business man can secure a patronage or work up a business only by winning it away from some one else. And so long as there are more men than jobs, even a poor laborer can get a job, a chance to earn a living for himself, his wife and babies, only by taking it from another unfortunate, who is thus left without the opportunity to provide for himself and dependent ones. This is the actual condition at present existing. It is industrial cannibalism, and under competition positively must get worse and worse. It is certain that population is increasing each year, and each year the man-work required grows less, machine work replacing it. Men becoming more numerous, and jobs less numerous, what must be the result? Tesla says, "The work of the world will some day

be done by pressing electric buttons." Do you think there will be buttons enough to go around?

Socialism proposes a rational, practical and humane remedy for all the ills that are the result of competition. Careful study of the problem surprises the enquirer by disclosing how very many of the ills of the body politic are the result. Sir John More, Lord Chancellor of England, many years ago said that nine-tenths of the crimes committed are crimes against property. That class of crime would almost cease under a Socialist regime. There would be scarcely any involuntary poverty, and therefore little incentive to that kind of crime. The saving of wealth under Socialism would be enormous. In the one case each separate industry would be systemized and conducted under the supervision of experts. In the other case all production is the result of haphazard, planless, disconnected effort. The trusts furnish an object lesson in co-operation. They systematize an entire industry. The competition of the little rival concerns being eliminated, the expense of numerous traveling agents and of advertising is at once saved. The working force—large when operating in diverse and distant places with inferior equipments—is reduced one-half by concentrated production. At the present time this saving reverts to the trust magnate. In the future, when our industries, like our military, postal and school systems, are socialized, it will accrue to the people as a whole.

Are officers, teachers, janitors, etc., derelict in their duties because employed by the govern-

ment? Have you any reason to believe that artisans would be any more so? Does the government employed mail agent render a service inferior to the corporation employed express agent? What possible argument can be given in favor of government ownership of the mail service that will not apply with equal propriety and force to the express, telegraph, freight and passenger service?

Under Socialism you will receive just the quantity of wealth which you produce. Under capitalism you are lucky if you get half of what you produce. Therefore, under Socialism you would have at least twice the incentive to earnest effort that you have under capitalism. Under capitalism thousands are idle and thousands are in want. Under Socialism those men would be put to work to produce things wanted.

Under competition there are in a town a hundred stores and a thousand clerks. Under Socialism there will be a central distributing depot with a corps of one hundred efficient men, and the remaining nine hundred men will engage in some productive occupation. The clerks are but a drop in the ocean. Thousands and thousands are not engaged in useless and unproductive labor. Under Socialism useless labor would be unknown and unproductive labor almost so, and these armies of slaves to Mammon will be given honest productive employment.

Production in its present volume, which if equitably distributed would provide a degree of comfort unknown to half our people, would not

require three hours' work per day for five days per week from the able-bodied portion of our population. One result would be several holidays each week. Both are practically unknown to half our people to-day. One-half the working or workable portion of the population could produce all the food and clothing required, the other half could be put to work building fine residences, making musical instruments and other things that are appreciated by cultivated minds, and under Socialism every capable mind would have the blessed opportunity of culture. Interest, rent, profit and all other tributes to capital will be completely abolished by Socialism. Private capital will not be recognized or used in the production of wealth, therefore there will be no necessity or reason for paying tribute to it. Capital is accumulated and stored up by wealth, and as the people collectively create and accumulate or store up wealth, it will belong to them, and none can claim tribute for its use. The whole competitive or capitalist system is arranged with a view to taking every dollar possible from labor and giving it to the capitalist. The reason for this is that the capitalists make the laws which regulate this system. They will continue to do so until we have direct legislation, when the laws will be made by the people as a whole. Direct legislation means the socializing of the legislative branch of our government. Even the taxes necessary to conduct the government, instead of being simply and inexpensively paid over, are collected in the form of tariff through the complex

and expensive machinery of the custom house system, that place and pay may be given an army of non-producing custom officials. According to the United States census of 1890, the increase of wealth during the preceding ten years amounted to about \$11.55 for each day's labor done, while the average wage paid to the skilled and other labor was about \$1.53 per day. Thus the worker got \$1.50 out of every \$11.50 he produced, while the non-producers, mostly idlers, got the other \$10. Do not get the idea that Socialism means the dividing up of wealth. It means a dividing up of opportunities only. Private property would be as sacred under Socialism as it is to-day, and would run no risks, the nation taking the place of the insurance companies in guaranteeing its safety. Under competition the interests of the buyer and seller are antagonistic; under Socialism the interest of the buyer (the people individually) would not be inimical to the interests of the seller—the people collectively. Every labor-saving device would then be a blessing, redeeming to a certain extent the sons of men from toil.

WAGE SYSTEM AND SLAVERY.

We ought to know that our struggle for individual freedom is not a fight against this man, or that, or the other. Our quarrel is not with a Vanderbilt nor a Rockefeller nor any other man who may be named. The most serious obstacle to our progress lies in the notion that our struggle is against men. So long as we imagine that the capitalist is to blame for the conditions which

exist, and that there is any use in appealing to him to right our wrongs, so long shall we move round and round in a circle and never get anywhere. He cannot do anything for us, no matter how much he may desire to. I do not question the value of labor unions; they are one of the steps toward the emancipation of labor. But they are in no sense an end in themselves. To think of them as a means of securing higher wages is to miss their real meaning. That man who thinks that what he wants is higher wages needs enlightenment.

Wages are just what every laborer the world over should be eager to abolish. If a wage system is absolutely synonymous with slavery, not with African slavery, but with a far more hopeless and hideous sort, the maintenance of the wage system would mean the defeat of civilization and the disappointment of humanity's highest and holiest hopes. The labor union is a sign board pointing to something better. It means that the interests of all laborers are one, and it also means that the interests of employers and employees are diametrically hostile to each other.

There is no harmony between the two, and to pretend there is is to trifle with the facts. The interests of capitalism are served by the making of profits. Abolish profits and the system of capitalism immediately goes out of existence. But the interests of the laborer are not served by profits, because he does not receive them. They could have no meaning to him. All he can possibly receive is the equivalent of the profit of his

labor, that which shall enable him to buy back all that he has produced. And that is not profit. It has a better name, which does not occur in the vocabulary of capitalism—"justice."

The labor union also means that the interests of all laborers are absolutely identical. If they are ever to win their fight they must stand together as a class. And something more than this is necessary. They must know what they want, and they must be united for a definite purpose. The trouble thus far has been that they have either concentrated their efforts upon a purpose that was not great enough or else have been fighting a battle that ought never to be won. On the other hand, they have fought for an advance in wages, or against a reduction—in either case it means the maintenance of the wage system, and therefore slavery. Slaves fighting for the defense of slavery. On the other side we have the spectacle of the trades unions contenting themselves with trying to limit the number of apprentices and all that sort of thing. That is a species of tyranny to which the American people never will and never ought to submit. I deny the right of any trades union on earth to say how many men shall work in a certain trade or where any consumer shall buy his goods. Let the workingmen of this country learn at the earliest possible moment that unless their claims appeal transparently to every good man's sense of justice, their cause is lost to begin with. No cause that has not in it the claim of justice, so that all can see, ever ought to succeed, nor in the

long run can it. But apart from the impertinent injustice of such a course, it is not and cannot be effective. No trade union nor all of them together can bring all the laborers into their membership. Fewer and fewer are the great industries that can be crippled by the action of trades unions. That weapon is losing its effectiveness. When thousands of men are out of work, it is too great a strain on human nature to expect them not to take the place of strikers. It is every man's inherent right and duty to work rather than see his wife and children starve. All the powers of society, and their sympathies, too, will defend a man in that right. But there is an orderly, natural, legitimate course for workingmen to pursue. And that course is indicated in Socialism.

The Socialist political movement has come into existence purely to give the proletariat an opportunity to gain their freedom. Think, workmen, what that movement means. It is nothing under heaven but a workingmen's movement. It is devoted absolutely to your interests. It has no other interest to serve. It does not afford an opportunity for the fulfillment of personal ambitions. No man can ride into any sort of supremacy above their fellows on the crest of the Socialist political tide. It is not a movement for the offices or to build up a great political machine to repeat the tyrannies of past times. It means the abolition of the springs of political corruption. It means the wiping out of the existing political parties. It proposes to abolish the wage

system altogether. It proposes to make a return to slavery impossible. It proposes to bring freedom and health and happiness within reach of every human being who comes into the world. It proposes to make it impossible for any man to climb to any sort of eminence on the shoulders of his brother men. It proposes to make human interests first, with the knowledge that all other interests will naturally follow. The system of capitalism, under which we are living, subjects the masses to the domination of a comparatively few. Economically speaking, we are all consumers. We must all have food and clothing and shelter if we are to exist. And if we are really to live, if we are to have anything worthy to be called life—we must have a great deal more than food and clothing and shelter. We must have good food, clothing which gratifies our tastes, and shelter which is healthful and beautiful. We are more than a pack of animals, the theory of capitalism to the contrary notwithstanding—we are men and women. We have something more than stomachs, something more than physical nerves and sensibilities. We have capacities for countless other and higher things. We love the beautiful, or we would if we had the chance. We want to educate ourselves. We want to see and create beautiful things, hear and compose beautiful music and have leisure for travel and recreation. I hold that these are all our national rights. And one man is just as much entitled to them as another. No man or woman was ever meant to be the slave or the drudge of another,

no matter how high the price paid for the slavery or drudgery. To attempt to maintain any such hideous doctrine is to nullify all morality and make one's self a beast. The message of Socialism to the vast army of toilers the world over is the only sane, hopeful, cheering, brotherly message that is being spoken to-day. It has an insight into the present and a vision of the future such as no prophet of all the past has had. It declares that the earth belongs to all the people, that every human being who comes into the world bears stamped upon his nature in its manifold capacities the certificate of his rights.

Socialism rests securely upon the well-supported conviction that life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are a universal possibility. Experience has only painfully proven that they are not a possibility under the regime of capitalism; indeed, that they are not thinkable under that regime. And why is that the case? Because capitalism forbids equality of opportunity. It means a system of injustice from base to dome. It could not exist a day, but for the fact that all the laws are made in its interests and the further fact that as yet the masses are ignorant of the power they possess. The truth is, we are consenting to live under a class tyranny. The capitalist class holds in its hands the government, the press, the church, society, everything. Are its members morally worse than other men? No. Do they aspire to be tyrants? Not all of them, and none of them at the beginning. If they have become possessed of the nature of tyrants, it is

the inevitable result of their position. So long as we tolerate such a class, we are responsible for them. Whether or not they are to continue depends entirely upon us. We can abolish that tyranny forever. We can wipe out that economic class. And there is every reason why we should do so. The world has suffered from ecclesiastical tyranny, and it still tolerates it to some extent. But society as a whole has abolished that tyranny in this country. We have no established church or religion. No priesthood has any legal right to command our obedience or support. Was this ecclesiastical tyranny represented by immoral men? No. But the system was and is the very essence of immorality, and its influence has nowhere been other than bad. We have suffered, too, from political tyranny, and we have not fully eradicated it. We choose our servants, not our rulers—at least in theory. And we are fast finding that our representative system is not very effective for the abolition of political tyranny. But it is the economic tyranny which is the keystone in the arch of oppression. That is the tyranny to which we must now direct our attention. We shall abolish it in one way, and that is the way indicated by Socialism. It is the way of freedom and happiness, not only for the working class, but for all people. Make the means of production and distribution the property of all—as they ought to be—and economic tyranny ceases to be.

Who is to perform this task? Can it be entrusted to the capitalists? That is what every laborer believes who supports by his vote the

Republican, Democratic or any other capitalist party. Have we a right to expect the men who profit by the existing system to abolish it? Never. Who, then, can be expected to do so? Surely those whose interests are to be served most immediately and beneficently by the process—the working class. How are they to effect this needed change? Political and economic changes are to be effected, in this country, peaceably only at the ballot box. They can be effected there only by united political action. United political action can be had through a party. The only party in this country that is pledged to the overthrow of the wage system and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth is the party that stands for Socialism. Thoughtful men tremble at the advance of Socialism. At times it would seem that some members of the possessing classes are by no means certain in their own minds as to the permanency of capitalist rule, and do not hesitate to say so.

But Mr. Mark Hanna is evidently little troubled by these gloomy forebodings. Here is his account, taken from the *Times-Herald*, of Chicago, December 1st, 1900, of how he reassured a timorous gentleman who gave it as his opinion that a struggle with Socialism was unavoidable in the near future. To this end Mr. Hanna particularly mentions two factors which he considers stable bulwarks of the present economic system:

“When I was in New York,” says Mr. Hanna, “just after election, a thoughtful man said to me:

'Well, we've saved the country again, but I tremble for the future. Sooner or later we are going to have a tremendous struggle in this country between the forces of conservatism on one side and Socialism on the other, and I am afraid Socialism may carry the day.' 'I am not a bit afraid of that,' replied Mr. Hanna, 'and I'll tell you why. There are two things that will prevent it. One is the American school system; the other is the Roman Catholic church. That great church is just as much against Socialism as the protestant churches, as I happen to know, and in the last campaign appeals to class hatred were frowned upon by the highest dignitaries and most influential men of the Catholic organizations. As long as this restraining force continues to operate you need have no fear of Socialism dominating America.' "

If the party to whom this assurance was addressed really deserves the appellation of "thoughtful," it is not clear how he is to derive much comfort from Hanna's view of the situation. It may be conceded that in the control of the public school system capitalism possesses a strong bulwark, but the press and the pulpit are no less valuable for the same purpose. All these have been and still are equally opposed to Socialism, and yet the latter has, in spite of such opposition, grown to the extent that it makes "thoughtful" men "tremble."

If Mr. Hanna could designate the point at which Socialism will meet with obstacles which cannot be overcome and explain just why, his as-

surance might be worth something. The Socialist recognizes that the powers which Mr. Hanna mentions, as well as other existing institutions, have been and still are being used for the perpetuation of things as they are, but he also sees that in spite of this the movement has made steady and rapid progress, and has no reason for supposing that the obstacles which have been powerless to stop its advance in the past will be any more potent to do so in the future. In claiming the Roman Catholic church as an ally in the continued plunder of the working classes, Mr. Hanna stands upon even more doubtful ground.

There are a few institutions still in existence which antedate capitalism, and of these by far the greatest and most important is the very church which Mr. Hanna relies upon as an auxiliary against Socialism. It has existed through various economic stages of human society, and has been enabled to do so by a knowledge of the law by which all organisms alone can continue to exist—the law of adaptation to environment. Its history comprises the stages of slavery, serfdom and capitalism.

In the transition periods between these stages it has survived through a recognition of the law above given. As it did not disappear with the disappearance of the two former economic stages, is there any good reason for believing that it is so bound up with capitalism that the destruction of the latter involves it also? If plain deductions from history are of any value,

we should say not. The slaveholding class, no doubt, saw in the passing away of slavery the destruction of the church. But they were mistaken. The landowning classes, the rulers in the feudal ages, we know as a historical fact, took the same view. They also were in error. Mr. Hanna stands in the same position to-day as the defender of capitalism. Is he as certainly right as the others were certainly wrong? It looks as if the whole matter rests upon the infallibility of Hanna, a dogma which we think will hardly meet with the universal acceptance, either from capitalists or Socialists. Turning the above the other way around, it will readily be seen that the Roman Catholic church proposes to stay on earth, capitalism or no capitalism, and judging from the past, the belief is well warranted that it knows how to do so. Like every other institution, it has been used in the interests of the ruling class at different economic periods, but it was quick to see the inevitable passing away of these different ruling classes and adapt itself to the succeeding economic stage. And that is the reason that it exists to-day as an important factor in human society. And for that reason also it will drop Mr. Hanna and his class just as soon as the necessity of doing so becomes apparent.

In conclusion we would call the attention of our numerous Roman Catholic readers to the highly honorable occupation which this brutal labor-skinners maps out for the Christian churches of all denominations, their own included. It is essentially the same view which his class invaria-

bly take in regard to the religious institutions of the day, and is in the main the reason why they support them. The chief end of "religion," as they see it, is to perpetuate the hell upon earth which capitalism has brought into existence, and the type of human being of which Hanna is a fair representative and this avowal upon his part is merely a corroboration of the oft-repeated declarations of Socialists on the subject. That Hanna and the class he speaks for will be ultimately disappointed in their expectations we have little doubt, but it is none the less valuable to know from their own mouths upon what they depend for continuing class rule, wage slavery, and the robbery of the workers in the future.

The ethical ideals of Socialism have attracted to it generous souls and have enlisted in its ranks its best adherents. It is these ethical ideals which have inspired the rank and file of the Socialistic army with fiery zeal and religious devotion. It may be said, indeed, that nothing in the present day is so likely to awaken the conscience of the ordinary man or woman, or to increase to sense of individual responsibility, as a thorough course in Socialism.

The study of Socialism has proved the turning point in thousands of lives, and converted self-seeking men and women into self-sacrificing toilers for the masses. The impartial observer can scarcely claim that the Bible produces so marked an effect upon the daily habitual life of the average man and woman, who profess to guide their conduct by it, as Socialism does upon its ad-

herents. The strength of Socialism in this respect is more like that of early Christianity as described in the New Testament.

The church seems utterly unable to grasp the mighty social problems that are now engaging the attention of students and thinkers; and pulpитеers spend their time inveighing against the saloon evil, the gambling evil, the social evil, etc., as though these were the real causes of sinfulness, instead of being merely the scales and scabs and scars that tell the social physician of the presence of economic disease that cannot be eradicated by palliative treatment or a dab of court plaster.

THE CHURCH AND THE WORKINGMAN.

Egoism, or subjective idealism, is in no phase of action displayed with more emphasis of assurance and individual selfishness than by the self-assumed leaders of public opinion who sermonize with high-salaried encouragement through the medium of the average daily newspaper. Being paid for their work as professionals, they are expected to handle with the skill of artifice, any subject which may suggest itself, and although absolutely ignorant as to either cause or effect, stalk brazenly to the front with their panaceas and with as much assurance and about as much to the purpose as that of a fishmonger who would instruct the baker in the preparation of a loaf of bread.

This is more forcibly shown, probably, in the editorial space writer's general dealing with the

intricacies involved in a solution of the problems with which labor has to contend. It may be that the writer of such a solution has never in his life done a day's work; he may have been reared in idleness and luxury; may never have been called, in youth, to even bring a pail of water or carry up an armful of wood; have been waited upon and nurtured with hired help, until private school awaited him; have passed through a course of select tutoring to college and graduated with crammed and overflowing cranium of book-knowledge galore, and can word an essay of such magical obscurity as to puzzle even the professors with whom he is about to separate on his entry upon a literary career.

One of the surprising things about the largest metropolitan daily newspapers is that the proprietors, stockholders, companies or syndicates who produce them are in it wholly as a business proposition. As a mass they are totally incapable of inditing a paragraph on the most ordinary topic, and if they attempted the effort they would follow the instincts of the general illiterate boor, and bungle the sentences into an array of high-sounding words, the meaning of which they themselves did not understand. Thus, in their dilemma, they turn to the other extreme; they call in and employ a staff of young experts, a species of spawn freshly emitted from the hot-bed of collegiate, classic lore, the highest ambition of whose efforts are to mystify and dumfound the reader with words and phrases which he may not comprehend, but with which he is

profoundly impressed because he is unable to question the correctness of adaptation in their application. And these are of the class who set themselves up as the propounders of doctrinal dogma for the regulation of society. They dissertate fluently and flatulently upon the results of cause and effect and pose ambitiously as oracles of profundity in answering questions upon the important affairs—political, theological, scientific, or economical—as the framers and regulators of public opinion, all with impudent and defiant assumption, but with about as much ignorance of the subject as would be displayed by the unsophisticated plowboy in navigating a vessel upon the high seas. And this brings us down to the subject of our theme—"The Church and the Workingmen."

What do men of this class know about the wants, necessities and anxieties of the laboring man? What does this class of hothouse, nursery productiveness know of the struggle of the hardy beech or the giant oak of manhood to maintain his standard of equilibrium in the widespread forest of humanity? What do these flattered and pampered household pets know of the throes, the anguish, the agony of the world's suffering, worthy poor? What do they know of his consciousness of responsibility to some unseen and unknown power for the liberties he enjoys or the ills which affect him? What do they know of the reflections which deter him from embracing the scores of alleged opportunities afforded him for enlightenment of a destiny which awaits him in

a long sleep, "after life's fitful fever?" And yet there is scarcely a day passes but we find in one or the other of the daily papers some expression of impudence, prompted by what seems almost a halo of ignorance, in censure of what they term the dissolute character of the workingman—the wantonness of his action—his abandonment to vicious pleasures, instead of his attendance regularly at church and his devotion to church worship. Why do not workingmen go to church? Some of them—many of them—do. In the exercise of his will power, the workingman may also exercise his choice of selection with the same liberty as one of any other class. Who is the authority to say to him, "Nay"? Who has endowed anyone with authority to direct his course? Who shall tell him what church he shall make selection of? And if he should, fortunately or unfortunately, seek his choice, may he not find the doors closed against him; may he not be deprived of the privileges, though small, he desires to enjoy? Is he welcomed joyously into the gorgeous edifice of the wealthy nabobs, with cushioned pews and the orchestral accompaniments of holy worship? If he is allotted a place, even under the very droppings of the sanctuary, does he hear the words of God or the word of Mammon? Is he enlightened and refreshed when he comes away, or is he impressed more strongly with the insignificance of his person and the vanity of his struggle for a higher sphere?

He may not in all of the churches find himself surrounded by the same evidences of af-

fluence and worldly wealth, but he will most likely find, in most of them, the same sham and show of dress and finery which serves to clothe a pseudo-respectability. He will hear dissertations upon the Word from the same book in as many varieties of form and elucidation as he will find churches in which to give them ear; and if he is not firmly fixed in his belief on the doctrinal lines, he will retire in a condition of mind more mystified than when he entered. The question of the workingman going to church is a matter of no consequence even to those who make such loud professions of church attendance and fealty. How many who do go are earnest and honest in their effort to put in an appearance; in their pretense to superior knowledge; to proclaim themselves as peculiarly versed in doctrinal uprightness? That they differ in their method and mode of procedure is not more strange than that the average workingman hesitates and even stumbles upon what others conceive to be his duties toward the church.

Skepticism is the result of intelligence. Slavery to a single line of thought, and the absolute abandonment of all others, frames the mind into bigotry and superstition. Workingmen as a class are naturally as intelligent as any other class. They are made like other men. They have organs, dimensions, affections, and passions as other men have. They are fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same summer and winter as other

men. If in addition to this they are governed by their belief of the existence of a Deity ; that he made the world, and governs it by his providence ; that the most acceptable service of God was doing good to man ; that all human souls are immortal, and that crime will be punished and virtue rewarded, either here or hereafter, if individually they stand before the world with a knowledge of their individual responsibility, who is there who is especially delegated to direct them what particular line of faith they shall follow, by which to attain the best ends of their destiny ? It is not necessary to enumerate the hundreds of denominational heal-alls who invite a test of their infallibility ; the tendency of whose efforts are more of political significance than of spiritual welfare or beneficence. The man who struggles in a ceaseless labor day after day to maintain an existence, meager at best, for himself and his dependents, is not facing a theory, but a condition. He is filling the destiny of a fate, not to be persuaded or moved by entreaty or prayer. He is living in the present, and even time is inexorable. If the workingman does not go to church it is not because he is worse than other men. He will strive to go if the opportunity is favorable, and he is satisfied that he owes such devotion as a duty. But he is not compelled to go. He can be just as free in his choice as the most profound devotees. It is not fair to question the choice of anyone in his particular doctrinal belief. Infant or early teaching is the foundation of almost every belief, and holds its influence throughout

an entire life. Subsequent surroundings and influences that accompany growth into manhood may modify or even change his line of belief, and he may seek, as is his right and the right of any free agent, to exercise it in form and ceremony best suited to bring happiness and contentment he desires. There is no more reason for the censure placed upon the workingman for not going to church than there would be in placing censure upon any other man for his attendance upon any particular church in preference to another. Church attendance and church worship should not be followed as a matter of commercialism. It should not be brought down to the level of trade or traffic in souls. If it is not here asserted it may yet be that the active enmity, violent hatred, rancor and even malignity exhibited by many religious denominations toward others of like privileges and rights with themselves, is the most destructive stumbling block to the doubting, hesitating, wayfaring man in his observation and inspection of the proper course to pursue in search of means to bring him the consoling influences for a better life, assured peace and quiet, and the consequent happiness and contentment of himself and those dependent upon him. It is not here urged or advised that the workingman should not go to church. All that is asked is that he be granted the exercise of his will to do so or not with the same liberty that any other man may exercise in going to any church of his own peculiar selection. It is possible that there are just as good men outside of orthodoxy as of those

professionally clothed in its man-made habilaments.

If the ~~divine~~ right theory could find no other contention of its authority than is developed through reason and intelligence, the assumption of its claimants, the violence of its methods, the tyranny of its power, the heartlessness of its exactions, the hypocrisy of its teachings, and the futility of its promises in all ages of the world places indelibly the brand of fraud upon its pretensions.

Should the workingman go to church? Yes, if he himself wills it, and to any church he may select if the doors are open to him.

Socialists believe that the world was made for the whole human family and not for a few. They therefore advocate "equal opportunities for all, special privileges to none." For war they would substitute arbitration; for competition, co-operation; for selfishness, generosity; for charity, justice; for monarchy, democracy; for slavery, liberty; for cruelty, kindness; for hate, love and sympathy for a fellow man.

RELIGION AND CHURCHES.

Socialism is a politico-economic theory, and as such has little to do with theological doctrines. Socialism deals with the problems of sustenance of life on earth. It has for its ideal the establishment of a system of industry which shall insure to every member of society the greatest amount of the necessities of life and the refinements of civilization; hence it is not concerned

with the religious beliefs of any individual. International Socialism has often declared that the worship of a deity is none of its business. With churches, however, there is some difference. The militant Christian church is an institution which, besides a theological creed, frequently adopts positions on social and economic questions. These positions are, unfortunately for the church, very often wrong. The leading members of the institution are ordinarily rich men (capitalists) and their ideas on social problems are too often accepted by the preachers as gospel truth. The result is that when the church expresses itself on political or social questions, only too frequently its opinions are conservative and capitalistic.

When the churches take such stands, we, as Socialists, must rebuke them. The gentlemen of the cloth may be infallible, despite their differences, when it comes to the interpretation of sacred writings; but when they trench upon the ground of social science they must expect the unsparing criticism of the advocates of the truth. As it is with their economic teachings, so it is with their actions and practices. When by foreign missions they seek to open the way for capitalist misery in foreign lands; when they allow themselves to be used as tools by the robber class for the enslavement and subjugation of innocent peoples, as in Hawaii, Samoa and elsewhere; when, moreover, they have the audacity to clamor loudly for revenge because some of their emissaries are punished for entirely unwarranted interference with the eternal affairs of other coun-

tries, we have no choice but to condemn the folly, or knavery, of these people.

Socialism does not attack religion, but when any religious institution allies itself with the enemies of the class, Socialists cannot ignore their action. We have abundant proof of the hostility of many pulpits. In Germany, Belgium and France the clericals are our strongest and most unscrupulous foes. This is because they have chosen to be such, not because we expelled them from our midst. We stand as the representatives of the workers of the world, battling in their behalf. We shall conduct our campaign without fear or favor. Those who will ally themselves with us for our cause we welcome gladly. Jew or Gentile, Catholic or Protestant, Idolator or Atheist, we have no prejudice. Neither race nor creed do we bar from our comradeship. Our comrades come from every country of the civilized earth; our members may freely hold any belief. But whenever any institution for the promotion of any belief lends aid and comfort to our enemy, the capitalist class, we shall boldly criticise its attitude and attack its position.

Let me premise that in all I here say I am not finding fault with those people in the churches who are honestly doing what they can to help benefit others, whether by money, visitation or good will. These remarks are only for those professing Christians, whose Christianity goes no further than their little round of church duties which produce no fruit for the good of others. Do you wonder if in the face of all these facts

that unbelievers often contend that much of our so-called Christianity is sheer, pure, unadulterated humbug?

George MacDonald once said that the best way to show our love for God our Father is to be kind to some of his other children, and yet too many of us who are named by the name of Christ—the man of sorrows, acquainted with grief, who went about doing good, seeking the lost, healing the sick, relieving the distressed and comforting the sorrowing—we, his professed followers, shun hearing of the misery and sorrow of our brethren and sisters. “Oh, don’t tell me such terrible things; I don’t want to hear them! I can’t sleep if you tell me of such horrors! I dream about them, and in the morning I have such a terrible headache!” These are some of the responses that are called forth by our efforts to arouse Christian men and women to their duty. Yet, dear friend, what are your one or two headaches or heartaches in the midst of your luxury and plenty for body and mind, compared with the constant headaches and heartaches of these poor, neglected ones, who are the Lord’s own children as much as you are. They may be honoring and glorifying God in their distress far more than you in your luxury. Can you give me any reason from the Bible, or anywhere else, why you should be so favored and those so desolate and forlorn? Are you indeed so much better than they? Is it a proof of God’s especial regard that you are thus circumstanced? I am free not only to confess my doubt that it is so, but often-

times my positive assurance that it is not so; for now, as in David's time, it is true that the wicked are often seen in great power and spreading themselves as the green bay tree. Oh, men and women of the Christian church! I am sick of such shoddy Christianity! I am disgusted with a Christianity that knows not God and his methods! Shame on those of you who do not his will in this regard; you are of the race of Scribes and Pharisees, not one whit better, who lick the outside of the platter, and who within are whited sepulchers.

THE NEW RELIGION.

"Socialism needs no new religion imposed upon it from without, and the less it has of such, the safer will be its course. But it does need to be shot through with that spiritual passion, without which, Hegel says, no great movement ever prevailed. And Socialism has within itself the germs of that passion, it has a seed of a new religion. Socialism has power to become its own religion. Essentially Socialism is a religion—the religion of life and brotherhood for which the world has long waited. It has in it that purpose which can command the idealistic motive that lies deep in even the most matter-of-fact men. Hundreds of thousands of young men and young women are crying out for some cause in which they can invest their lives; some cause that shall afford them altars of exalted and self-denying service. They see the gods and their temples burning to ashes and they ask for something that shall take the

place of these in supplying the most elemental need of the human soul. Socialism can supply that need. It comes to the common life as the religion of free and happy earth; the religion of comradeship and mutual hope and brotherhood.

"Let Socialists be true to the deeper meanings of the class struggle, and they may gather into the service of Socialism the great fund of religious purpose and passion which is now heart-sick, unattached and wasted. And this religious passion, quicker than anything else, will awaken the working class to the consciousness of its worth and destiny, and of the struggle and solidarity by which the emancipation of life and labor come. Let me impress upon your mind that only a factional and divided Socialist movement can defeat Socialism. There is no power in Capitalism, nor in the universe, that can prevent the consummation of a united and harmonious Socialist movement in the Co-operative Commonwealth.

"There has never come to the world of labor nor to the international Socialist movement, nor to the long struggle of man for liberty, an opportunity like unto that which the American political and religious situation now presents. The American people, led by the politicians to continued and economic slaughter, are finding themselves in the economic condition of the proletaire whose soul and body have been so long the grist of the capitalist mill that he has no opportunity to become class conscious, or aspire to better things. Vast intellectual and religious resources are of-

fering themselves to the Socialist cause. Now is the opportunity of the Socialist to gather the disappointed American democracy, and the freely offered brain and heart of the younger men and women of the educated class, into the service of inspiring and disciplined labor for the coming struggle and the coming liberty. That opportunity means a responsibility that shall match it. For opportunity never calls a people or a class being to responsibility, without them being potentially able to respond."—George D. Herron.

A QUESTION FOR THE PROHIBITION- ISTS TO CONSIDER.

There is no neater tribute to the power of profit than the question asked by a leading temperance paper, "If a boss distiller, brewer or a saloon keeper had been president of the United States, what more could he do than has been done by Mr. McKinley for the liquor traffic in the Philippines?" In 1897, \$663 worth of liquor was sent to the Philippines. In 1899, \$106,000 was sent there. The number of saloons has increased from an insignificant number to over 300. Of course all the dear temperance people supported McKinley, because he was a Christian gentleman. The temperance people do not know that the profit system operated McKinley and the United States (including "dependencies"), and that so long as profit dictates men's actions, intoxicating liquors will fill a large part of the time and stomachs of men. Talking about saloons, I will drift a little into the details of the vice and havoc that is made by this evil. Not that I am opposed to the traffic. I am a firm believer that it is a necessity under this system of penury and hardships. Many of the saloons are owned by the large brewers, whose power and influence render it an easy thing to secure a license for any abandoned scoundrel who will be a willing tool in their hands. Thus these brewer-owned saloons become the hatching places for all kinds of foul conspiracies, political and otherwise, from eggs

sown by men in power—the brewers—who own the keepers, body, mind and soul. And these brewers often pose as public benefactors. They point with pride to their great charities and the like, forgetful of the fact that to the clear-headed they stand as worse than highway robbers posing in the guise of philanthropists. With both hands 364 days of the year in the workingman's pocket, they rob and pillage their poor victims, who are so blinded by their devilish arts as to be willing to be thus plundered—not only, alas, of money, but of health, position, character and honor. Then on the 365th day they buy what little brains he has with foul putrified slop that is not fit for a hog, to make him vote for the lackeys. The man who will sell his vote for money is fit only for the society of convicts, and some inmates of the penitentiaries are too good to be associated with them. The man who sells his vote sells his soul just as surely as if he had signed a contract with old Nick himself. The man who deliberately purchases a vote is in exactly the same category. There is not the shadow of excuse or palliation for either. One is as bad as the other, and both ought to be in the penitentiary, where the law says they shall be, if found out.

The thing we call politics, which so many good but misguided people only regard with contempt and speak of with a sneer, has really to do with the most sacred relations of life, and the man who piously says that he is above having anything to do with politics simply says that he is above having anything to do with adjusting the rela-

tions between his fellow men, and to my mind there is no more dangerous citizen or dangerous class of citizens to-day than the Pharisees of business and religion, who, counting themselves holier than other men, are so absorbed either in the business of money-getting or self-adoration that they frankly say that they have no time to meddle with politics. If it is true that politics are dirty, and good and pious men are too good and too busy to lend a hand in the work of cleaning up the political situation, what hope is there for our political institutions? I am one who believes that there is no hope for political peace except as it is reached through political and social justice. I do not believe that social and political problems are to be fought out; they are to be thought out.

SLAVERY.

Liberty and poverty are incompatible, and if the poverty is extreme, liberty is impossible. The unrest which we call labor trouble is nothing more nor less than the endeavor to gain the liberty which the working classes think they see the employing classes possessed of.

The negro slaves were taken care of, and many of them were more comfortable in their servitude than they are in their freedom. But the white slave is paid starvation wages by masters who have made fortunes out of the tariff in a single year, and he is robbed of thirty-seven per cent of what he gets; when he asks for more he is turned out of house and home and his place is filled by imported laborers. Yet the system is said to be a good one for the workingman. And I say to you now, with no chance of challenge, that there is in the United States to-day a worse slavery, a more cruel bondage, than that with which Spain ever cursed Cuba in the days of her pride and power. Would you have the evidence? Go to the workshop and the mines, where the toilers drudge through the day for a pauper's pittance! Go to their hopeless homes, where want and woe have been before, where weak women shiver in fireless rooms and children cry for a paltry crust! Go to our great factories, where delicate girls give their lives from day to day to feed the monster of greed! Go find the children slaving in the shop instead of studying

at school! And for further evidence look in at the prison and poorhouse, the hospital or the morgue.

The following item appeared in the Chicago Tribune, June 22d, 1900:

"The life of a baby boy was put up for barter in New York city to-day. It was not an auction sale, but the starving mother gave to the public a chance to bid for the life of her child. The sale was made, and to-day \$100.00 was paid for a human being. The bill of sale was made out. It was witnessed by a lawyer and two others and the seal of a notary public was attached. Then the document was carried to the register's office and there formally filed. The matter was submitted to Register Fromme. He said: 'The sale of human life is a violation of the constitution. I suppose this document, however, will have to be accepted for filing.' The mother of the child was Pauline Mathis. Her brother and father were out of work and the family almost starving, so the mother decided to dispose of her child. Mrs. Ann Gross, wife of a butcher, has no children. She heard of the Mathis family's destitution and offered \$100.00 for the baby. It was accepted, although the mother was heartbroken."

No more horrible and monstrous tale could be told that would disclose the heartlessness and vileness of the present system under which we are living than the above article. Even the barbaric system under which savages live never leads to such horrible outcomes. No savage was ever compelled, through a system that leads to starva-

tion, to sell her offspring. There are no words to express the horror of it. It shows that the system under which we live is fiendish. And yet with all the horrible deeds to which our system leads we hear people shouting words to this effect: "Great is our civilization; great is our republic; great is our President; great are our capitalists; long live the republic and the capitalist system!" "Away with Socialists who would ruin our present civilization, our glorious country and our flag!"

AN INVITATION.

KANSAS EDITOR TELLS AGUINALDO WHAT GOOD
THINGS HE MISSES BY KEEPING AWAY
FROM US.

Agui, you do not know what a good thing you are missing by not wanting to become a citizen of this grand country of ours. There is nothing else like it under the sun. You ought to send a delegation over here to see us—this land of the free, this land of churches and 470,000 licensed saloons, Bibles, forts, guns, the millionaires and paupers, theologians and thieves, libertines and liars, Christians and chain gangs, politicians and poverty, schools and prisons, scalawags, trusts and tramps, virtue and vice. A land where we make bologna of dogs and canned beef of sick cows and old mules and horses; and corpses of people who eat it; where we put men in jail for not having the means of support, and on the rock pile if he has no job; where we have a congress of 400 men to make laws, and a supreme court of nine men to set them aside; where good whisky makes bad men, and bad men make good whisky; where newspapers are paid for suppressing the truth, and made rich for telling a lie; where professors draw their salaries and convictions from the same source; where preachers are paid from \$1,000 to \$25,000 a year to dodge Satan and tickle the ears of the wealthy. Where business consists in getting property in any way that

will not land you in the penitentiary ; where trusts hold you up and poverty holds you down ; where men vote for what they do not want for fear they will get what they want by voting for it ; where women wear false hair and men dock their horses' tails ; where men vote for a thing one day and swear about it the other 364 days of the year ; where we have prayers on the floor of the national capitol and whisky in the basement ; where we spend \$5,000 to bury a congressman and \$10.00 to put a man away when he is poor ; where the government pays the army officer's widow \$5,000 and the poor private who faced the shell \$144.00, with insinuations that he is a government pauper and a burden because he lives. Where to be virtuous is to be lonesome, and to be honest is to be a crank ; where we sit on the safety valve of conscience and throw wide open the throttle of energy ; where gold is worshiped and God is used as a waste basket for our better thoughts and good resolutions ; where we pay \$15.00 for a dog and 15 cents a dozen to a poor woman for making shirts ; where we teach the untutored Indian the way to eternal life, and kill him with the bad booze ; where we put a man in prison for stealing a loaf of bread and in congress for stealing a bank or a railroad ; where check books and sin walk in broad daylight, justice is asleep, crime runs amuck, corruption permeates our social fabric and Satan laughs at every corner. Come to us, Agui. We have the grandest aggregation of good things, soft things and hard things of all kinds, varieties and colors ever ex-

hibited under one big tent. Send your delegation and we will prove all these assertions for truths.—Pocahontas Sun, Kansas.

Workingmen, when will you as a class awaken to your wrongs, awaken to your rights? You suffer—you, your wives and children. In their play time your little ones are robbed of their sunshine—of the possibilities, the probabilities. They are starved, stunted, and sent out to earn their living in an immature state. The sun shines; the birds sing; the flowers bloom; but the children—ah, what of them? Are you men and women? Can I touch the chord of humanism that will nerve the nerveless—make loyal the disloyal and arouse a truer manhood and womanhood? You see around you cynical selfishness, grandeur and squalor, luxury and penury; the idle, well-fed, well-clothed shirking honest work by exploiting the labor of other people, while the honest worker cringes, crawls half-fed, half-clothed—dying before his time, his brain dormant, his better nature undeveloped, suffering injustice, crucified daily, because he refuses to use the power he possesses. The splendor of the present is not yours to enjoy; in the march of civilization you are not counted; in the progress of the world you form no part except as beast of burden. When will you reverse this? What a grand word liberty is! The congress of all human hearts is expressed in it. It breathes the impulse and eternal hope of all the legions of men who lived above the lives of beasts and in

their death gave testimony to the Brotherhood of Man. And yet, as everlasting differentiation is necessary to intellectual progress, he who takes the word upon his lips must reply to the stern question, "Whose liberty, sir?" Your liberty. My liberty. Do you mean the liberty of mankind? What may the demarkations of your liberty be? Well-behaved convicts have the liberty of their prison.

Friends, you who represent the dignity of the United States, whose progress has placed us in the foremost ranks of our contemporaries; whose sons of industry and toil mark the highest altitude of mechanical skill and human endeavor; a country whose gates invite the hardy miner as well as the most skillful artisan, and who still with onward strides extends her arms to enfold the progressive care of the age. Her sons in whose firm step and hearty grip we behold the descendants of pioneer days, men resolute and bold, with freedom of thought as free as the echoes that leap from state to state, whose daughters, endowed with the Spartan spirit of old, uphold with unstrained effort the ideal of American womanhood, and whose inspiring thoughts of a continual advancement will some day roll their fame from shore to shore. Friends, shall it be said that you who gave birth to this giant of industry, whose left arm extends into the dark recesses of the earth, dragging forth her hidden hoards to enrich yourselves and posterity, while the right sweeps over the ripening plains deep into the forest dells beyond—shall it be said that

you have forgotten your greatness? Shall the feeling of injustice find a harbor in your brawny breasts? Shall your minds foster one solitary cloud in the clear horizon of thought to engender a future storm? Shall it be said that the city of Washington was stifled with thistles and thorns, which you as citizens of the Commonwealth placed there through one unjust "Act?" Friend, such a thing can never be. You yourself realize this, that the greatness of a community finds its support in the unity and honesty of its members. Cast this aside and you expose your nakedness to a laughing world. Judea, Babylonia, the great Roman Empire, fell with a howl that has resounded through centuries, and they fell because of their corrupted institutions. Could we look back upon the first seed of injustice sown among their citizens we would no doubt marvel at the dreadful result. From small beginnings we have great results, be they good or bad; be it a lighted match in a grain field or the planting of an acorn by the wayside—all tend forward in accordance with the evolutionary laws of cause and effect. The development and suppression of many lies within the powers of man in his domestic, social, and judicial relations with each other; individual responsibility does not end with his departure, but extends beyond even into the third generation. Your thought, your action, your life, be they good, bad or indifferent, are stereotyped for a future generation. Remember, "the evil men do live after them; the good is often interred with their bones." The youth of the

world is prone to evil, as susceptible as the sapling that bends to each passing gust. Whether it will weather the storms of time and become as sturdy as the oak at its side depends much upon the soil in which it was planted, its sheltered position and the inherited soundness of its seed.

Friend, why do I use this form of speech? I will tell you; it is to keep in touch with your own thoughts. I am no orator. I only tell you that which you yourselves know.

A plain, blunt man who knows his hardships and loves that inherited birthright of liberty as instituted by our progenitors. That its inspiring tide courses through my blood and calls my faculties to battle for its defense is nothing wonderful. The dearest gift that our Great God has given to man is at stake; Liberty, that which you prize above all earthly possessions, in the attainment of which a generation of our forefathers filtered out their pioneer blood to enrich the field of thought, the pastures of unity and the soil of progress of future prosperity.

Friend, our years are numbered, they are but a few at best: our passage hence will soon take place. We shall tread that dusty road of death, but while life remains I should like to live it progressively onward and upward. It is the shoulder at the wheel that lightens the load, so each effort made contributes to the welfare of the whole. That invigorating essence, Liberty, is the elixir of life; all seek for it. There is a constant struggle for it, individually and collectively, both in the plant and animal kingdom. The potato

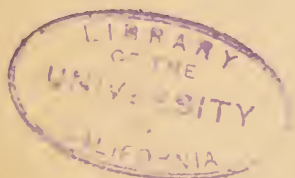
vine creeping toward the opening along the cellar floor seeks it, as does the caged bird that bruises his wings against the bars of his prison. It is the vital essence of their existence, the prolific soil of regeneration and plan of active contentment, wherein organic life develops its maturity. Exclude them from this, and you will soon find degeneration sets in.

The wise man builds not his house upon the sand, but upon a firm foundation. There is no foundation to the Republican and Democratic stock-jobbing parties, and this fact is being felt throughout the length and breadth of the land. So, all this talk is unnecessary, you have followed the entire proceeding of this work, the power of reason is yours; to render judgment is yours; let me close with these words: If you want to see a truer and nobler epoch appear upon this old planet for the Brotherhood of Man and God, take that true and never-dying cause of Socialism to heart.

WHAT CAN I DO FOR THE CAUSE?

You can vote the Socialist ticket. You can subscribe for and read a Socialist paper. You can join the local organization of the party. You can join the trade union of your craft and help fight its battles. You can talk Socialism to the members of your Union, and as a good Unionist you will command their respect. You can buy Socialist books and pamphlets, read and study them, and then lend or give them to your fellow workers. You can distribute leaflets and papers

issued by the party and make constant efforts to get new subscribers for the papers that represent your class interests. And if you do these things you will feel amply repaid by the growth of Socialism around you; you will feel that your time has been well spent; you will feel that your money has been wisely invested; you will know that you have brought nearer the dawn of freedom for yourself, your wife and children, and your toiling comrades. SET TO WORK.





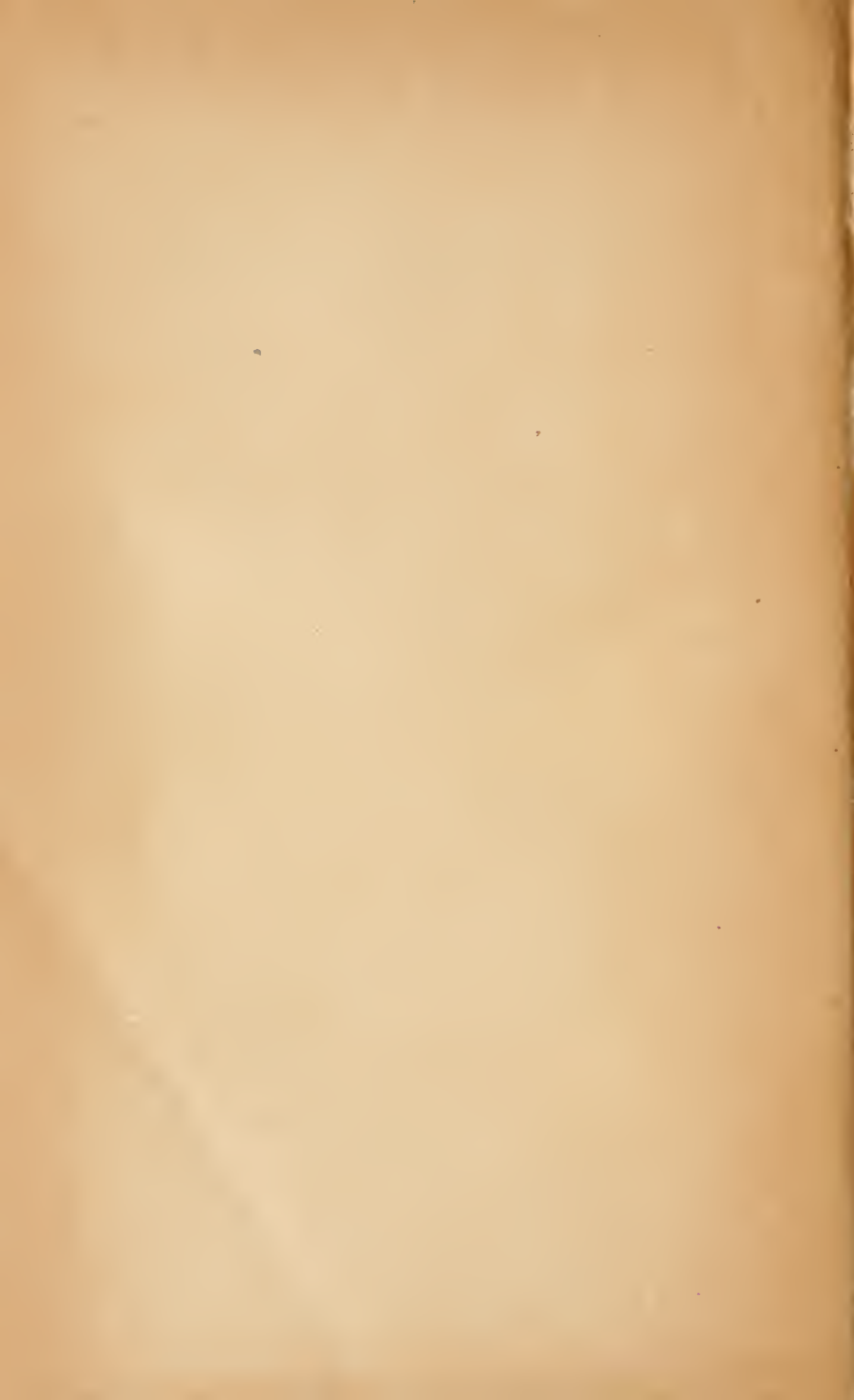
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